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THE WHITE SLAVE TRADE.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER, ELI THAYER, AND HORACE GREELY, ON "ORGANIZED EMIGRATION," OR THE WHITE SLAVE TRADE.

ALWAYS a national union man ourselves, we are pleased to see any procedure proposed or enacted which is calculated to strengthen and perpetuate the Union. Of this character we are sure is the "Organized Emigration," spoken of in his late speech, by Hon. Eli Thayer, and (as originally intended) such we are willing to believe, was the Emigration Aid Company of Massachusetts. Its stockholders and officers, Mr. Sumner informs us in his celebrated speech made in the Senate in May, 1846, (no doubt correctly,) were business men and not Abolitionists, whose object was, to make money by "*planting capital in advance of population.*" Again, he says: "For its whole action, and all its anticipations of pecuniary profit, are founded on the hope to stock the country with permanent settlers, BY WHOSE LABOR THE CAPITAL OF THE COUNTRY SHALL BE MADE TO YIELD ITS INCREASE." It would have been well for Mr. Sumner had the sentence ended here—for then he would have enunciated a distinct, truthful and practical theory, which all could comprehend and none would dispute. But the concluding clause of the sentence flatly contradicts all that precedes it, and makes the shrewd speculators of Boston the silliest of mankind. It concludes thus: "And by whose fixed interest in the soil the welfare of all shall be promoted."

Now, if the emigrants to Kansas all acquire a "fixed interest in the soil," the lands of the company will be as worthless as if situated in the midst of the desert of Zahara, or on the top of the Andes. The company induce emigration, because they know that far the larger portion of emigrants never acquire any "fixed interest in the soil," or any capital of any kind; and, hence, inevitably become the subjects, or to speak more accurately, the slaves of capital. Yet, there are degrees in slavery; and it is far better to be a slave to capital in the far West, where labor is scarce and employment easily obtained, on terms which leave the laborer a good support out of his own earn-

ings, than to be the slave of capital in our Eastern cities, or in Europe, where the capitalist or employer takes the lion's share, and rarely leaves a comfortable support to the laborer for the year round and throughout all the vicissitudes of life. "Organized Emigration," where capital precedes or accompanies labor, is slavery, but slavery in its mildest form, and the nearest approach to liberty which is compatible with social existence—for all social organizations is but a series of subordinations—modifications of slavery. We of the South have been practising "Organized Emigration" for a century, and hence have outstripped the North in the acquisition of land. The owner of a hundred slaves, who with his overseer moves to the West, carries out a self-supporting, self-insuring, well organized community. This is the sort of "Organized Emigration" which experience shows suits the South and the negro race, whilst Messrs. Thayer's and Sumner's is equally well adapted to the whites. Slavery to human masters has always been considered disgraceful and degrading, whilst few ever felt or thought mere poverty, which superinduces slavery to skill and capital, degrading or disgraceful. We do not mean to compare the laboring emigrants to Kansas in a moral or social view to domestic slaves, but only economically. Yet we do assert, and have proved in "Cannibal's All," that morally, intellectually, socially, and physically, the condition of the white laborers of Western Europe is worse than that of domestic slaves ever has been, or ever can be. Mr. Greely, and we believe, all the leading Abolitionists of the North asserted this fact, and maintained this theory long before we did—for they are all socialists, and socialism in an assertion that the existing form of society where the socialist lives, is a failure:—but, besides, most of them have asserted it in so many words.

We said we considered this "Organized Emigration" scheme calculated to perpetuate the Union. We think so, because men who reflect must see that Northern and Southern purchasers of western lands are intent on the same object, making money by *commanding* (not paying for) labor. They are each engaged in the slave trade, and the different forms of slavery they propose to institute, are well adapted to the climates, soils, and subjected races. Each section by their different modes of slavery, becomes a more extensive market for the products of the other; and thus diversity of soil, of climate, of institutions, of races, and of industrial pursuits begets mutual dependence, and when understood, will beget kind and friendly relations, and tend to strengthen and perpetuate the Union.

The institutions of the northeast and of the South, are of natural growth and development. The northeast is not an agricultural country, and though attached to the *slave trade*, they found slavery unprofitable. (The social system of the northwest is unnatural and wrong; for it is an agricultural country, and needs domestic slaves. Southern and northeastern fanaticism imposed this unnatural system on them. The African slave trade renewed and negroes reduced to a hundred dollars a head, this section together with Western New York and Pennsylvania, would soon become slaveholding.)

Negro slavery died out at the northeast because it was unprofitable,

and, therefore, unnatural. It was found natural and profitable at the South; and hence it flourishes and increases rapidly. People "should not quarrel with their bread and butter." We of the South are greatly dependent on the North for manufactures, merchandise, commerce, and a thousand other things, which, if we reared at home, would cut off our whole agricultural surplus—and they of the North are dependent on slave labor for much of their food and clothing, and for a market for their commerce, manufactures, merchandise, &c., &c.

We need not quarrel as to our relative morality; for North and South, there is but one trade, one human pursuit, and that is the slave trade. Money-making, the acquisition of property, we are all equally intent on; and there is no other property except property in man—(or property in human labor which is the same thing)—for property has value, and value is but the result of human labor, past or prospective. We propounded this theory some months ago in the *Intelligencer*, and as it has met with no denial, we presume it is a mere common place truism, which everybody had discovered before we did. If anybody doubts it, let him read Adam Smith, McCulloch, Say and other political economists on the subject of "Value." Or let him catch a wild horse on the prairies and try to sell him in a neighboring town, and see if he will fetch more than it is worth to catch and tame him. If he charges more, men will tell him they will catch one for themselves, or employ some one to catch one for them. The horse doesn't sell for a cent, 'tis the owner's labor that sells. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

We shall hereafter in reasoning on sociological questions, assume, as axioms, that "property in man is the only property;" "the slave trade the only trade," unless some one discovers that our doctrine is erroneous, and refutes and exposes it.

We know that there are a few country clergymen and missionaries among the Pagans who are exceptions to our theory; but there is no rule without exceptions—none with so few as ours!

We can't tell why this universal cannibalism distinguishes mankind, but have no doubt that properly modified, regulated and restricted by law, public opinion and religion, it is all right, natural and necessary, because it is universal. We expose it in order to strip off the cloak of superior sanctity from the canting hypocrites who affect so much pity for the blacks, whilst their whole aim and pursuit in life is to make slaves of the whites. Many will object to the use of the term "slavery" to express the relation between Capital and Labor. But "slavery" is a generic term, and conveys to all minds the meaning we intend, which no other English word will. The conventional French term *exploitation* is the true word for our purpose, but not one reader in ten thousand would understand its meaning; as it is a very recent importation from the mint of French socialism. Mr. Stephen Pearle Andrews, of New York, an Abolitionist and socialist of distinguished ability, in his *Science of Society*, handles this subject admirably, and shows that slavery is no scientific term, but equally applicable to the dominion and exactions of capital, and to the rule of human masters.

Mr. Thayer, also, who like all sensible men who have made their own

way in the world, is a sound political economist, has a theory somewhat different from Mr. Sumner. He would have the capitalists and the slaves to capital migrate together. This is far the better plan. The employers will make more money, and their supervision will improve the minds and morals of their hands.

Mr. Thayer often openly and distinctly avows, that money-making is the sole object of "Organized Emigration," and this money is to be made by carrying out white laborers, whom he considers much cheaper and more profitable than negroes.

It is true that he talks of making money by mechanical power; but he knows full well that mechanical power is the result of white labor, and he who owns it has possessed himself of human labor, and is to that extent a slaveholder by virtue of his capital. If he owns fifty thousand dollars worth of machinery, or lands, or coins, these are only instruments or agencies that enable him to command and control without pay, fifty thousand dollars worth of human labor. They have no value of themselves, but, like Southern masters, command labor, which is the only thing valuable.

It is a common notion that negro slaves are not paid wages, and that white laborers receive wages. Neither are paid anything by the master or the employer, but only allowed to retain a part of the proceeds of their own labor.

In America the white is allowed to retain more than the negro slave, although the Abolitionists deny it; for they say that labor is cheaper and land dearer at the North, and if either proposition be true, negro labor is best paid—for the price of land is always greatest where the laborer gets the least of the product; and land is cheapest where the laborer is best paid.

In truth, however, as yet, lands of equal quality sell higher South than North, and negro labor is cheaper, and, therefore, preferred to white labor by all persons who have to hire hands.

The day may come when a dense population sets back from the Pacific, when lands will be dearer and labor cheaper at the North than with us. That is just what Mr. Greeley and the other socialists dread, and would prepare for. But when that sad day does arrive, it will be cause not for boasting and gratulation, but for lamentation. Look at Ireland, England, Scotland, France, and all Western Europe, and see if "cheap labor and dear lands" are not the direst curses ever inflicted on humanity. The price of land is the thermometer of liberty—men are freest where lands are cheapest.

We state this merely to expound and elucidate a theory. No continent ever had excess of population in all its parts, and we shall soon own a continent. It is silly and criminal for Abolitionists and socialists to be disturbing and attempting to upset and re-construct society North and South, (whilst each is so prosperous and flourishing,) to prevent the occurrence of future distant, doubtful, speculative evils.

Mr. Greeley worked himself up into a terrible state of fear, panic, and trepidation on this subject some fifteen years ago, and had a controversy about it with the *Courier and Enquirer*, and went to erecting or promoting the erection of some fourteen phalansteries, in order

to get ready for the apprehended moral deluge. The deluge is as far off as ever. The phalansteries have exploded.

It is strange that Messrs. Sumner and Thayer should think land monopoly and slavery to capital, which are results of "organized emigration," indispensable to human well being, and that their friends and co-laborers, Horace Greely, Hon. Gerrit Smith, and the other leading Abolitionists, should consider them the worst of social evils. Still stranger, that the latter, so thinking, should send rifles, clothing, and money to Kansas to help to establish there land monopoly, and, consequent, slavery to capital.

We like social organization and subordination, and will take them on any terms sooner than submit to the anarchy that is running riot through the country, especially in our large cities. The crying evil of the times in Western Europe and America is, that "the world is too LITTLE governed." If Messrs. Sumner and Thayer would try their hands in "organizing" society at home, they would be better employed than in dealing with that "*mauvais sujet*," Kansas. Organization, closer and more compact and stringent "organization," is just what the world needs. "Constituted anarchy," or even "anarchy plus—the street constable," can stagger on but a little longer. Nothing but an approximation to the principle and practice of slavery throughout all the ramifications of society can save civilized Christendom from social wreck and chaos. The history of the last seventy years is but the history of liberty degenerating into licentiousness.

Political despotisms will not suffice. We must reach the family, and preserve that pure—for we cannot have a sound whole formed of rotten parts. We must have masters; Catholic priests, censors, or tything men, to watch and control the family.

We have said that we approve of "Organized Emigration" where it is a *bona fide* money-making procedure; but if it be seized on by fanatics as an engine with which to expel the people and property of one section of the Union from the common territory, it will cease to be profitable to laborers or capitalists, and will beget idleness, crime, sectional hate, civil war, and disunion. In order to make Messrs. Sumner's and Thayer's white slave trade succeed, it is absolutely necessary that the African slave trade should go on *pari passu* with it—as the products of white labor increase, they will need a more extended market at the South, and as population increases at the North, they will require more cotton, sugar, rice, coffee, and other slave products. Increase the number of slaves, and of slavery, and of slave States, and their "Organized Emigration" is a good plot—"an excellent plot." Fail to do so, and disunion is inevitable—for the South will never submit to the exclusive appropriation by the North, of those vast territories which she was chiefly instrumental in acquiring, despite of much Northern opposition.

We should like Messrs. Sumner's and Thayer's "plot" better, if they would dispense with common schools, rifles, and the right of suffrage, for their laborers. These things are not useful or necessary to mere common laborers, beget idleness and discontent, and in time, generate insurrections, revolution, anarchy, and agrarianism.

We have made a feeble attempt to show to the people of the North and the South, that their pursuits, their practices and aims and objects in life differ but little except in names, and in those differences which the peculiarities of the negro race justify and necessitate—and also to show that the sections are so mutually dependent, that the increase and extension of the territory, population and institutions of the one, is beneficial to the other. A far more tolerant opinion on the subject of negro slavery is rapidly and powerfully setting in from Western Europe to this country. This, added to the confidence of our people in the matured wisdom, prompt decision, experienced statesmanship, and bold but prudent conservatism of the Administration is, we think, tending fast to heal sectional disunion, and to strengthen and perpetuate the Union.*

NOTE.—We do not consider slavery to capital and skill the unmitigated evils that Mr. Greeley and the other Abolitionists and socialists deem them. There is plenty of vacant land in the world, and slavery to capital is the "fire on the terrapin's back" that drives a redundant and worthless population from densely settled countries, and from the purlieus of our Eastern cities to the prairies of the West. It is useful and necessary to disperse and diffuse population. In newly and sparsely settled countries it is preferable to domestic slavery. But in old countries, in society in its usual and natural state, domestic slavery is normal, natural, and necessary, as all history proves.

* With equal faith in the Administration, we do not see those encouraging signs in other quarters which are vouchsafed to the vision of our contributor, and we regard with instinctive repugnance, these Yankee colonization schemes, whatever politico-economically they may seem.—EDITOR.

ROMANTIC HISTORY OF FLORIDA.

No. II.

Brave, gallant De Soto, the friend of Atahualpa, the stern rebuker of the treachery of Pizarro to the last of the Incas, the favorite of fortune, the honored of princes, with all of life's honors surrounding him! What a contrast was such a life and such a death!

Misfortune seems to have fenced the shores of Florida as a doomed land for a whole generation. No one sought the perilous honor of being its adelantado; no longer were the fabulous rivers of gold permitted to dazzle, or the waters of the perpetual fountain to allure the vanity or thirst of man.

Religious zeal alone still sought this unconquerable country, within which to extend the peaceful conquest of the Gospel, and in 1549 the Dominican Father Canello, with a number of captive Indians, who were to be returned to their countrymen and act as interpreters, sought to win his way to their hearts by kindness and gentleness; but he no sooner landed, than himself and two of his *confrères* fell victims to the dis-

trustful jealousy which saw in every white face a foe. It was still reserved to religious zeal, twenty years later, to make good a landing upon its shores.

Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles had lost a son upon the Bahamas, whether devoured by the waves, or a prisoner in the hands of the Indians, he could not ascertain; while thus restless and excited, and desirous of an opportunity of approaching its shores, he learned that the French Huguenots had made a landing on the coast of Carolina, and subsequently upon the St. John's river they had planted a colony.

At this day it is difficult to conceive the spirit with which an adherent of the Roman faith regarded the Lutherans, as they were then called.

Menendez was as good and stout a defender of his faith as he was of his king, and he gladly availed himself of the opportunity, under the title of Adelantado of Florida, to lead a semi-warlike crusade against the Huguenots, as despisers of the faith as well as intruders on what he believed to be the soil of his king.

Sovereignty was then singularly acquired by all nations.

The right of discovery was the leading basis of the claim, and under this claim the Spaniards held the country by virtue of the discovery and possession of Ponce De Leon. They also held the, to them equally satisfactory, grant from the Pope of all the countries they might discover in the Western seas.

A country in which no expedition had hitherto been able to obtain foothold, was now to be struggled for by the Huguenots under the *fleur de lis* of France, and the Spaniards under the war-cry of St. Jago.

The historian, the chronicler, and the novelist have alike illustrated this period of our early history. Important in itself as determining the future character of the country, whether French or Spanish, and interesting, as exhibiting the ferocity and inhumanity of the stern Spanish leader, it illustrates a period of the history of our race, which has happily long since passed away.

The success of the Spanish Adelantado was complete. He at last laid the permanent but almost useless foundation of the dominion of the Spanish crown in Florida, and acquired a nearly barren conquest; Spain never deriving any advantage from its occupation, and the extensive limits originally claimed to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which she was never able to occupy, were gradually pushed back to the St. Mary's.

The Huguenots, under Ribaut and Laudonniere, had constructed a triangular fort of no great pretensions upon the St. John's river, and had they exercised a moderate amount of

prudence or precaution, the fate of the settlement would likely have been reversed; but Ribaut, with more valor than discretion, not content to act on the defensive, took the initiative, and sailed with the larger part of the garrison to meet and drive out the Spaniards, before they should be established; but, overtaken by a violent tempest, his vessels were thrown upon the coast of Canaveral.

The energetic and frenzied Spanish leader, learning through a deserter and Indian spies of the embarkation of Ribaut, and the consequent weakness of the garrison, and feeling confident that the storm would either drive off the ships of Ribaut, or wreck them on the coast, marched in the height of the storm to the French fort, which fell an easy conquest; and in the success of his vindictive and uncompromising zeal against their faith, slew all except the women and children. A few days afterwards, he encountered Ribaut and his companions in distress; and famished, suffering, and defenceless, they were obliged or induced to surrender at discretion, and were, with even less palliation, in cold blood murdered, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity.

The French colony was thus totally destroyed, and no effort was afterwards made to reinstate the settlements, an omission the effect of which can hardly be estimated. Had the French colonies remained, the whole of the States bordering upon the Atlantic would have been occupied by them, and instead of a transatlantic empire of English, Dutch, and Swedes, a New France would have been established. That the French would have successfully colonized the country at that period, is evident from their success in Canada, the North-west, and Louisiana. The French, but for the weakness and inefficiency of their own government, would have been masters of this continent. The French missionaries who penetrated the great lakes, the Illinois, the Mississippi, and Missouri, showed of what excellent materials Frenchmen were. They were all brave, courageous, intelligent, and superior men, fitted for the highest offices, and true leaders: we can scarcely do too much honor to these early French missionaries. All this splendid inheritance of the future was forfeited by the apparently trivial accident of Ribaut's going to sea and being overtaken by a gale. By such accidents, or rather by such slight events, are the destinies of countries affected. But this happening, Menendez conquered, and St. Augustine was settled permanently, and thus has the honor of being by more than forty years the oldest town in the United States.

The memory of former difficulties with the Spaniards seems by this period to have become effaced in the minds of the natives. Both the French and the Spaniards were received

peacefully, and no obstacles were interposed to their prosecuting their settlements. On the contrary, the Indians exhibited great kindness and cordiality, with a disposition to render them assistance. This, in fact, was the reception that all the French settlements in this country met with; and they seem of all nations to have better understood and appreciated the Indian character, and to have gained much more ready access to them.

The first intercourse of the Spaniards with them was of a different character. They came seeking gold, and regardless of the means by which it was acquired, and almost immediately enslaved the Indian tribes, and imposed upon them burdens of the most onerous character. The cruelties practised upon them were such as to create a strong feeling of animadversion on the part of their spiritual guides, and led to the enforcement of severe enactments against the continuance of such a system.

THE RELIGION OF OUR SLAVES.

THE Rev. J. D. Mitchell, of Lynchburg, Va., in a late address before the society for affording religious instruction to the negroes, thus boldly testifies to the religious advancement of this class of our population at the South:

I feel it to be a duty to defend the Christian character of our slaves, to whom we preach the gospel, and with whom we sit down at the table of one common Lord; and, in opposition to the statements of travelers and authors, on which Mr. Barnes relies, I may be permitted to bear my testimony, based upon an experience derived from a pastorate of twenty-seven years, over masters and servants, during which I have always had in the church under my care, from five to one hundred colored members—*slaves*; and I do now declare, that in my judgment, and in that of the intelligent Eldership with whom it has been my privilege to be associated in the government of the church, "*that our colored members have exhibited a uniform consistency of moral and religious character.*" In my long pastorate, I remember only three cases of discipline amongst the servants; nor can a Christian servant be guilty of open immorality, or of inconsistent deportment, and escape the notice and censure of the church. For while the wicked around are ever watching for their halting, Christians are peculiarly watchful over one another, and every delinquency is almost certainly reported to the pastor or elders. Instances of high-toned piety are frequent among *them*. Not more frequent perhaps among the whites, North or South. How many Harlan Pages are there in New York? How many Isabella Grahams? How many Miss Alibones

in Philadelphia? The great mass of Christians possess a piety of the "*humblest* order." Now, sir, on almost every plantation in the South, where religion has taken hold, you will find one or more servants *eminent* for piety, whose defection in morals or religion would be almost as much a subject of remark, as the defection of their masters. One of the most pleasing and mighty reforms wrought in *our world* during the last twenty-five or thirty years, has been accomplished among the slaves of the South. Thousands and tens of thousands have been converted to God, and their condition in all respects greatly ameliorated. Houses of worship are built in many places for their especial use; while a large space in *every* house of worship is appropriated to them. But to their honor be it said, that the "Methodist Episcopal Church South" takes the lead in the religious instruction of the Negro. In the year 1856, they appropriated \$45,000 to missions in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—nearly all of which went to sustain missions to the slaves; and they have their regular circuits, with traveling and stationed preachers, and districts, with their Presiding Elders, and a great and blessed work are they doing. May God speed them in *that*, and in *all* their labors of love. The Rev. Bishop Early, of the "Methodist Episcopal Church South," not long since visited one of the rice islands near Savannah, a part of this mission field. Here are large estates, and a large number of slaves, who, although within hearing of the bells of Savannah, have never seen the city. The Christian minister is with them there on Sabbath, and in the week; and many have become pious. The Bishop preached to them, and observing their solemn and unbroken attention, he was much affected. He thought of the providence of God that brought them to these shores, and of His grace that had brought so many to Christ; and he asks them, *Where were you twenty years ago?* There was a pause, and then an old man answered, and the others repeated after him, "In the region and shadow of death, master." Again, he asked, "What did you know of the Apostles Creed, and Ten Commandants, and the Lord's Prayer, ten years ago?" They answered, "*Nothing at all, master.*" Again, he asked, "What did you know of the Bible, and the Christian religion?" They answered, *Nothing at all, nothing at all, till the Lord's man brought it to us.*" Here is a mighty moral change—a people emerged from heathenish darkness into the light of the gospel of Christ. Here, sir, is a wide, inviting field *rife for the harvest*, and from it you have already garnered some precious grain; and there yet awaits your faith and labors of love, a larger ingathering of souls redeemed. Look at the field; extending from the Brandywine to the Rio Grande,

with a population of more than 9,000,000 souls, of whom more than 3,000,000 are slaves. The church to which I belong, which will be known, after April next, as the "*United Synod of the Presbyterian Church of America*," is one of the agencies through which you may operate on that vast and difficult field.

Before closing the subject we introduce a corroborating extract from the *Mobile Herald and Tribune* :

"Among the Old School Presbyterians it is stated that about one hundred ministers are engaged in the religious instruction of the negroes exclusively. In South Carolina alone there are forty-five churches or chapels of the Episcopal Church, appropriated exclusively to negroes ; thirteen clergymen devote to them their whole time, and twenty-seven a portion of it ; and one hundred and fifty persons of the same faith are engaged in imparting to them catechetical instruction."

It is in view of such facts as these, that one of our cotemporaries, (the *Philadelphia Inquirer*,) though not free from a certain degree of anti-slavery proclivity, makes the following candid admission :

"The introduction of African slavery into the colonies of North America though doubtless brought about by wicked means, may in the end accomplish great good to Africa ; a good, perhaps, to be effected in no other way. Hundreds and thousands have already been saved temporally and spiritually, who otherwise must have perished. Through these and their descendants it is that civilization and christianity have been sent back to the perishing millions of Africa."

VICES OF GREAT CITIES.

THE Rev. R. Everest, one of the ablest statisticians and purest moralists in Europe, has lately published a tract, in which he shows :

1. From Duchatelet's work, that in that portion of Paris which may be classed as the Court circle, the number of women of abandoned character, are as one to 142 of the total population—whilst in what may be classed the plebeian circle, the proportion is 1 to 557.

2. From English statistics, that in London, in the Court circle, the illegitimate births are about 1 in 15, and in the plebeian circle, 1 in about 30.

How sad are the comments of Mr. Everest. Is it for this we are asked to exchange our institutions at the South ? Are we so emulous of the corruptions of great cities and of "free society ?" We quote :

"Round the Archiepiscopal towers of Lambeth, amid the

elegant villas of Kensington, and the habitations of "our beloved Guards," illicit intercourse is more active than by the gin-shops of Holborn, and the infamous purlieus of the Strand. The neighborhood of the Palace itself, where dwells the Sacred Majesty, only to be approached with uncovered head and bended knee, and whence issue the periodical proclamations against vice and immorality, fares not a whit better. Nor has the presence of that august body—the House of Lords—aided, as it has been, by an additional number of Bishops, sufficed to stay the pestilence. The farther we remove from the regions of refinement, the less does the evil appear.

"The observations of two centuries ago have tallied with the observations of to-day—and there is no evidence that I can find to contradict them. Are we not then entitled to consider it as probable, that wherever privileged orders exist, or have existed, conquerors, courts, and nobles, and their parasites, they have made use of their political power and the wealth that accompanies it, without the responsibilities of marriage. Christian, Mahometan, or Heathen, the creeds of the cavaliers may have been various, the following has been in the main the same—the following of Epicurus. In the East, where polygamy is allowed, it is mostly the potentates that are so licentious. Their equals come to them as wives, and their inferiors as concubines, whilst the industrious man generally finds one wife quite sufficient."

EARLY HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN VIRGINIA.*

NO I.

THE Colony of Virginia was founded in 1607 by adventurers from England under a royal charter, granted by James I. to a company for that purpose, and continued under such proprietary government for sixteen years. The English nation had long been celebrated for arts and arms, and this was not the least remarkable era in their history. Her civilization, based on a variety of pursuits, a minute subdivision of labor, and a kind and degree of freedom unknown to Continental Europe, had in the preceding reign received an impulse, and in a new direction—which had not yet spent its force. Her insular position and naval power gave her great advantages for founding colonies as well as extending her commerce.

The "London Company" which planted Virginia was com-

* Prepared at the instance of the Virginia Agricultural Society, by N. F. Cabell, of Virginia.

posed of the first nobility, gentry, and merchants of the country. The objects proposed in the Plantation—moral, political, and economical—were highly commendable. Their general plan was not wholly such as would now be approved; but far wiser, more humane and just than that of the Spaniards of the South. Their success, partial as it was at first, was not attained without frequent disasters that threatened total miscarriage, and the bitterest experience was often repeated before the sufferers would profit by its lessons. The sad tale of misgovernment from abroad, of insubordination, improvidence and want of caution at home, is told by our early historians. And yet did these evils give occasion for the exercise of the opposite virtues of patient submission to the privations incident to their situation, heroic courage, industry, economy and thrift.

The first settlers, besides provisions for their immediate support, brought with them tools for clearing the forest and erecting buildings, and the implements of husbandry most needed in their then situation. Had these been properly used from the first and their energies steadily directed to raise the means of future subsistence, our story would have been different. They had no doubt much to learn on coming to a new country, but this knowledge might have been attained without their forgetting so much of what they brought with them.

For we are not to suppose that these men or their successors were wholly ignorant of good husbandry as it was understood and practised in England. The works of Fitzherbert, Tusser, and Plat, were already published. Those of Markham, Plattes, Weston, Blythe, and Hartlib appeared in no long time after and when the planters were in a better condition to profit of their instructions. The leaders of society in Virginia throughout the colonial period were to some extent men of education and reading. During all this time they were continually reinforced by men of the same stamp, as well as by practical farmers from abroad. Much of the instruction contained in the books just mentioned was inapplicable to their wants—even more so then than now. But in them were to be found just principles and wise precepts which had been tested by the experience of ages. It would have been strange indeed then if our early history furnished no evidence of agricultural knowledge or judicious practice on the part of the old planters of Virginia.

An eminent, and the earliest benefactor of Virginia agriculture was *Capt. John Smith*, the true founder of the Colony, who, having been previously known as an adventurous traveler, and a brave and chivalrous soldier, was persuaded to

take part in this new enterprise. At first he acted in subordination to one or two nominal superiors. These proving incapable, were superseded, and Smith, rising at once to his proper level as leader of the movement, exhibited in his new position moral and intellectual qualities and administrative talent, as conspicuous as had been his fortitude and energy in his former varied career.

The site of their settlement once chosen, the means of defence against hostile demonstration provided, and the adventurers set on work, he proceeded, with a few companions and slender appointments* to explore the coasts of our bay, the shores of our principal rivers, the seats of the aborigines—their numbers and strength, and at length to map out the country for the future guidance of the colonists and the satisfaction of his countrymen abroad. When occasion required, he overawed the natives, suppressed faction and mutiny among his own people, and honestly endeavored during his brief government of three years to carry out the policy of his superiors, however he might doubt its wisdom. His efforts in this cause did not cease with these necessary preliminary labors. By the Spanish conquests in other parts of America, a century before, individuals had been enriched and the power and resources of their native State greatly enhanced. If any of our adventurers had been attracted hither by similar hopes and the expectation of having them immediately gratified, Smith was candid and prompt to wake them up from their dreams and to bring them to more sober and rational views of their situation. He had at once to encourage the desponding and to modestate the over-sanguine, by showing them the solid advantages within their reach and the obstacles to their attainment. He had noted the soil, the natural growth and cultivated products of this wild region of their choice; had observed the manners of the natives and whatever in their economy could be converted to the use of his countrymen; and by his foresight and address had procured from the former the means of subsistence for the latter before they were prepared to raise it for themselves. Sagacity such as his could not fail to perceive the possibilities of the new position. This was indeed no El-Dorado. Here were no semi-civilized empires where heaps of precious metals, accumulated through centuries, could be obtained by violence or traffic. But there was here that, which was still better—a fair land with a fertile soil,† lying under a temperate clime. Indications were

* With twelve men in a boat of three tons.—(Smith's History of Virginia, II. 99.)

† Smith, I. 113–15, 221, II. 74; Stith, 43, 81, 182; John Rolfe in Historical Register, I. 103. Other and sufficiently accurate descriptions of the soil of Vir-

not wanting of valuable minerals and precious metals,* which might be discovered in time, but the search for them must be postponed to their more urgent necessities. *Agriculture* was the true foundation of such a commonwealth as their's. Cherish and extend that, and commerce and manufactures, if not discouraged or repressed, would follow in due order. The natives have nothing worth taking but their land, which could be bought for a trifle, and of that there was enough for both parties, so long as their mutual engagements were observed with good faith. When these were violated he was prompt to assert the rights of the superior race. These might emulate the Spaniards—not in their injustice and oppression—but in their enterprise, fortitude and constancy; in their systematic efforts to improve their new acquisitions, not only by increased production of what they found there, but by the introduction from abroad of other staples suited to the latitude.† The country at first offered to view a boundless forest—a few spots, the seats of the natives, excepted. But let them proceed with stout heart and strong hand to remove this usurping growth—which might itself be converted into a source of wealth‡—and the scene thus opened would soon reward their labors with the means of independent subsistence and the commodities of a new commerce.

Such was the policy of Smith, and the true policy of every new country such as was ours. In our day it is well understood what sort of men are best suited to the backwoods; and such, as it were by instinct, betake them to the frontiers and prepare the way for the planter, who follows in their wake, to enter on the operations of a rude husbandry, which should regularly improve with the opening of the country and the increase of the population. But the majority of those to whom the exhortations of Smith were addressed—being either gentlemen or artisans—were ill-fitted by their condition and previous training to carry them out. Of this he often complains,§ and his reclamations may have led to the correction of an error, which, if persisted in, must have seriously retarded their success. He, however, enforced his orders by his own example,

ginia, either generally or in particular localities, after it was farther explored, or as it first appeared may be found in "The Perfect Description of Virginia, in 1648,"—(Hist. Register, II. 70;) in the Journals of Glover and of Clayton; in Beverley's History, B. II. chap. 3; in Hugh Jones' "Present State of Virginia," 1724; in the Westover Manuscripts; in the Memoirs of a Huguenot Family; in the Journal of Barnaby in 1759, (Hist. Register, V. 33, 151-2;) and of Col. Smith in 1773.

* Smith, I. 125, 196; II. 60, 74.

† Smith, II. 74.

‡ Smith, I. 201.

§ Smith, I. 202, 222, 235, 241, II. 34, 35, 38, 56, 95, 100, 104; Historical Register, I. 56.

and to show that he did not consider personal labor a degradation, he participated in their roughest toils and scantiest fare.* The cheerfulness, also, with which the gentlemen, his companions, followed their leader in this novel employment, was as honorable to them as it has been useful to posterity.† For this instance has had all the force of a *precedent*—there having never since been a time when gentlemen of Virginia, not content with directing the labors of their people, would fail to “lend a hand” when emergencies demanded their co-operation.

In the volume of annals which Smith has left to posterity may be read these and many other proofs of his zeal for “The Action,” and of the discretion by which it was guided. Here, also, may be found the germs of many other things which afterwards grew up to maturity.‡ This was not a commercial colony, but emphatically a “Plantation,” and such having been its prevailing character to the present hour, agriculture has continued to be its chief interest. To procure the “pitch, tar, soap-ashes, wainscot, clap-board,” and other “commodities,” which were the earliest returns in the way of exports to the mother-country, was but to prepare the way for raising the staff of life. The art of producing their maize, pulse, and edible roots was caught from the savages. Experiments were tried with English grain, fruit, and vegetables; and, as if he foresaw the unhappy change which a wasteful culture would bring over the whole fair scene before him, *he pointed to the very means of its restoration which posterity has only begun to use with effect after a lapse of two centuries.*

And such are a few of the benefits which the Virginia Plantation received from this remarkable man; who, having figured in courts and camps, proved himself as ready with the axe or spade as he had been with sword or spear, and whose right hand did not altogether lose its cunning while using the pen. When such an one is called to initiate so great an enterprise, a character of so rare a type must impress itself on the men of after time. Many have been the Virginians who showed the same traits—sketches as it were with a lighter hand and in fainter colors. But to exhibit this, in grander outline and yet fairer proportions, was reserved for that man who was summoned to usher in the new era.

* Smith, I. 155, 240.

† Smith, I. 198; Historical Register, I. 57.

‡ Smith, II. 239-40.

THE RANDOLPH EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

STATISTICS OF POPULATION, MORALS AND COMFORT OF NEGROES—
SLAVES AND EMANCIPATED.*

ON the occasion of your late visit to Prince Edward, you requested me to furnish you the history, statistics and result of the experiment of the emancipation of his slaves, by the late Richard Randolph, deceased. I have not been unmindful of my promise to endeavor to do so, but the official records furnish me but little information, and, more than a half-century having elapsed, since Mr. Randolph's death, the recollections of but few gentlemen give me any material aid in preparing the paper you desire. An intelligent correspondent of one of the Baltimore journals, (the Sun, I believe,) was on a recent visit to Prince Edward, and has written a communication on this subject, of more interest than I can hope to make this letter. My purpose was to furnish you a copy of this well-written article, with the expectation that it would meet your wishes. A renewed request, however, from yourself and others to confirm the views thus forcibly presented by this correspondent, has induced me to comply with my original promise, with such material as I have been enabled to gather.

It may not be amiss or irrelevant to give you the circumstances under which these slaves were emancipated. John Randolph, Sr., resided at Mattoax, in Chesterfield county, Va., and died in 1775. His widow survived him, as also his children, Richard, (only five years of age at the time of his father's death,) Theodoric and John, (afterwards the brilliant orator of Roanoke.) The father, John Randolph, Sr., died possessed of vast real estate and of a large number of slaves. Theodoric, the son, died, without issue, in 1791, and Richard and John received, by inheritance or by will, nearly the whole, if not all, of this large estate. The portion of their patrimony, which consisted of slaves, was encumbered with mortgages, which their father had given thereon to secure and satisfy debts contracted by himself, or liabilities incurred as security for others. Richard Randolph is represented to have early exhibited much genius, and his fine talents were cultivated, with much care, under the judicious direction of Judge St. George Tucker, who had married his widowed mother in 1778. In 1789 Richard Randolph married Judith Randolph, daughter of Thomas Mann Randolph, of Tuckahoe. She was a woman of great strength of mind and highly cultivated, and to her gifts and accomplishments

* Letter from F. N. Watkins, to Mr. Ruffin.

she added a benevolence and goodness of heart rarely equalled. When, in 1791, Richard Randolph, on attaining the age of twenty-one years, took possession of his estates, and made "Bizarre," near Farmville, his residence, and assumed the immediate control of his large property. No slaves in the country had a kinder master and mistress than did his; nor were there two persons better qualified, by nature and education, to prepare them for the freedom which awaited some of them. The liens on the slaves were still unsatisfied; and the debt, (due principally, if not wholly, abroad,) increased by continuing interest thereon. Richard Randolph was educated for the bar, and contemplated entering on the practice of his profession. In 1796 he died. I learn that he was an enthusiastic politician, and that of the "Republican" party, of that day, few were more zealous adherents than "Citizen" Randolph, (by which name he preferred to be called.)

The American and French revolutions, and the united experiment of constitutional freedom here, had given birth to various theories of the rights of man and the abstract opinions of the perfect equality among men. The most extreme of these views, I learn, Mr. Randolph maintained. While he has left the reputation of being a very kind-hearted man, of great integrity, I do not understand that he was a very practical man. Richard Randolph's will bears date the 18th February, in the 20th year of American Independence; it was recorded in one of the then district courts of Virginia, held at Prince Edward C. H., on the 8th April, 1797. By his will he emancipated his slaves (prospectively) for reasons stated there at length, and with provisions which will be here stated. The length of this portion of his will forbids its being copied here. The language, views, and train of argument, one such as might be expected to spring from the wildest and most extreme doctrines in regard to human liberty of the political school of the French revolutionists, which opinions then infected many of the first minds in Virginia and the other Southern States. Now, they are to be found only maintained by Northern abolitionists, and with them founded upon very different grounds, and proceeding from entirely different sources. It is enough here to state that the will of Richard Randolph provided that as soon as the mortgages on his slaves could be paid off, that all his then remaining slaves should be emancipated; and that four hundred acres of his land, in fee-simple right, should be divided among the heads of families among them, in such manner as his wife should direct. So much is left to her discretion in this respect, so much recommended to her benevolent care, and so much was

actually done in the best manner for the object by her in after time, that it is certain that his wife entirely concurred with the testator in his views—and that, in her much longer continued life, every care was used to make the subsequent and final act of emancipation as beneficial as possible to the slaves emancipated. For these reasons, added to the previous necessary sales of a large number of the slaves, to satisfy the debts, and mortgages, which sales must have been so directed as to leave for freedom those who were most fit to be so remanded, there could not be a condition of slaves more favorable for emancipation to be beneficial—or to be the least injurious to them.

The large "British" debt referred to, it seems, had not been paid in 1796 or 7. Efforts to extinguish it, in the lifetime of Mr. Randolph, proved unavailing, and subsequent to his death a sale of a large portion of the mortgaged slaves was made; how many were sold I have not ascertained. I learn from one or two of the emancipated negroes that more than one hundred were thus sold—and I have heard much higher estimates of the number made. The unsold portion of the slaves remained in the service of the representatives of Richard Randolph till 1810 or 11, probably to satisfy, from the profits of the real estate, the balance of the unpaid debt. In February of 1810 or 11, the directions of the testator, in reference to the settlement of his emancipated slaves, were executed by selling off and assigning, in lots of five to fifty acres, some four to five hundred acres of land to the slaves, and by giving them their freedom. This land lies two or three miles West of Farmville, and to the village and vicinity was given the name of "Israel Hill."

From the only record I can find of any part of these transactions, the number of emancipated slaves, at that time, was *seventy-two*. Two of the men, (carpenters,) with small families, were located in the now town of Farmville, where they and their descendants now live. The "Israelites" proper were mainly farmers and planters.

In 1810 or 11, we find the slaves of Richard Randolph taking possession of their land and entering upon the so-called enjoyment of their freedom. It is well and justly remarked, by the correspondent of the Baltimore paper referred to, that "the conditions of the experiment were eminently favorable for the manumitted, and the elements of success surrounding them numerous; that they were the *choice* servants of one of the most humane and cultivated families in Virginia, *reserved from sale because of the excellence of their dispositions*, their fidelity and their industry. They had enjoyed the advantages of association with intelligent whites; they were taught the

principles of the Christian religion; they were trained to habits of labor and were settled on fertile lands in a temperate climate; fuel and water were abundant; they were surrounded by kindly disposed neighbors, who gave them employment at harvest and at many other times during the year. And more than all, they were not brought into competition with white labor." Let me add, in confirmation of this statement, that their very kind friend, Mrs. Randolph, manifested much anxious care of the interests and comforts of these negroes, aiding them in starting their enterprise and giving them much profitable employment on the Bizarre farm. And few, if any, colored people were, at that time, of better reputation for "honesty, probity and good demeanor." I cannot omit here to mention that there still lives a venerable patriarch of the tribe, who, to-day, is as highly respected for tried and well sustained character as any man; and if Sam White is a fair specimen of those who were emancipated, the Israel Hill community compared favorably with any other for good and sound morals.

More than forty years have elapsed since "the foundation of the village of Israel Hill. I shall not attempt to give you the history of its various but ever declining fortunes. I learn that for a year or two these farmers and planters, while industrious and content with accustomed pursuits, were successful and prosperous to a degree equal to expectations. But a few years, however, sufficed to convince every observing man that Richard Randolph's experiment would be a failure, and that his friends would be disappointed in their hopes that the condition and comfort of his slaves would be promoted. Not a few of these, coming to manhood, soon became victims to idleness, discontent and kindred vices. The men, for years, seemed to prefer to seek and obtain employment on the batteaux, by which the produce of the country was carried to Petersburg. The women, for the most part, led idle and dissolute lives. A few of the original and native population have removed, but other free colored people have intermarried with the Israel Hill inhabitants. I have made several unsuccessful attempts to ascertain the number of the population of the Israel Hill village in 1854, including those who were emancipated and their descendants. From the most reliable information which I can obtain, I estimate their numbers to be about one hundred. According to the census tables for 1850, the whole slave population of the United States has increased from 1,191,364 in 1810, to 3,204,313 in 1850—or nearly 200 per cent. in forty years. There should be added to this increase, all the former slaves and their descendants, who, since 1810, have become free, (or are so counted in the census,) either by being

emancipated, or by absconding to the Northern States. This proper addition, and still more for the extension of time to 1854, would certainly have made the true general increase of slave population, from 1810 or 1811 to 1854, more than 200 per cent., and most probably 230 per cent. At 200 per cent. only, the Randolph negroes, if continuing slaves, would now be $(72 + 144 =)$ 216, instead of their actual number of 100, and an increase of not quite 39 per cent. in 43 or 44 years. These statistics appear more remarkable when we compare them with increase of other negroes in the immediate vicinity; I refer to families of negroes owned by religious societies in Prince Edward (whose history I again notice in this communication)—where the increase of population was from two to about *seventy*, in the period of sixty years.

The unwritten, but well-known, "annals of the parish," the records of the courts, the concurrent testimony of the whole neighborhood, and the very appearance of the "rotten borough" of Israel Hill, afford abundant evidence of the utter failure of this experiment, and furnish material for the melancholy history of the "decline and fall" of this once happy and prosperous community. I doubt if one family or individual among them have materially added to their fortunes, in the forty years: their lands have been sold, and are unredeemed in some instances, for taxes; death, from suffering and absolute want and poverty, in one case, at least, has occurred, and many of these poor people live by dishonest means. The natural effects of vicious and dissolute habits on population may be proven from a single fact: An old gentleman who knew them all, in passing five of the most healthy of these women, from 25 to 40 years of age, inquired the number of their children, and he ascertained that the five (some if not all of whom were married) had only three children.

In a word, I am confident that the unanimous opinion of the people of Prince Edward, who have been at all acquainted with this colony, is, that freedom has not been a blessing to these people. And I make no doubt, whatever, that those of the slaves of Richard Randolph who were sold, and who, or whose descendants, are now in the possession of kind masters in Albemarle, are in a more happy condition and far better cared and provided for, than their brethren of Israel Hill.

You also requested me to furnish the facts in relation to negroes formerly owned by certain churches in Prince Edward. I regret that I have not been able to obtain the statistics on which you would desire the statement to be made. Thus much, however, I learn, that, in 1767, gentlemen connected with the Presbyterian churches in this community, subscribed a sum of money and purchased two negro girls. They and

their descendants, till 1835, were annually hired out, and the proceeds of these hires appropriated to the payment of the salaries of the pastor. The members of the churches, believing that the comfort of these negroes would be promoted by a sale, instead of continuing their annual hiring, ordered a sale and the investment of the funds arising therefrom. In 1835, the number had increased to about *seventy*. Some of them are owned in this county, and are with their families. I have no information which induces me to believe that they are not contented and happy.

In complying with your request, my dear sir, I have attempted to give you a truthful and plain narrative of facts, and have forbore to present thoughts which will readily occur to yourself and other reflecting men. But you will allow me to suggest for your consideration the question, whether the facts which I have given you do not contribute to throw light on a grave and important problem in the history of races. I refer more particularly to the opinion, that when two races attempt to occupy the same territory, the weaker must give way to the stronger and more enlightened, (as the Indian race for example,) or occupy to their superiors the relation of slaves. My reflections lead me to believe that such a relation is far better for the negro in Virginia, and is the arrangement of an unerring and beneficent wisdom which overrules and directs all things. If we shall be enabled earnestly to discharge the duties arising from the relation of master and servant, established by God himself, we shall accomplish far more for our slaves and for humanity, than impious and fiendish abolitionism or sickly sentimentality.

With sentiments of high personal regard,

I am, dear sir, truly yours,

F. N. WATKINS.

Farmville, Prince Edward, Oct. 2, 1854.

NEW ORLEANS MERCANTILE COMMUNITY.

THE *Bulletin* pays a deserved tribute to the high-souled system of mutual assistance, adopted by the merchants of New Orleans, and alludes particularly to the exhibitions of generosity and fidelity evinced by them during the trying financial pressure. It says:

"Could a full and accurate history of every instance of generosity, of sacrifice and sympathy, practical, effective sympathy, that has here transpired, be written, it would astonish not only other communities, but the very men who have been more or less engaged in the trying scenes we have passed through. It would be a volume that would ennoble human

nature, and create a smile upon the face of the vinegar-visaged cynic, and extort a tribute of respect from the veriest misanthropist that ever lived. Persons who have come here for the first time, from abroad, and have learned something of the business habits prevailing among our merchants, express astonishment at the generous confidence reposed mutually in each other—and the alacrity, cheerfulness and efficiency with which each comes to the rescue of the other, at any trying or critical moment. It is no unusual thing for one man to lend another thousands of dollars, without a scrap of paper as evidence of debt—the honor of the obliged party being deemed entirely sufficient security; and rarely indeed is the confidence thus shown abused."

THE TOBACCO INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE TOBACCO INTEREST AGAINST THE EXCESSIVE DUTIES IMPOSED UPON THAT STAPLE, BY THE COMMERCIAL NATIONS OF EUROPE.

[We are indebted to W. M. Burwell of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee, raised at the last Southern Convention, for the manuscript of the following able and interesting remonstrance and memorial, on the part of the tobacco interests of the South.—EDITOR.]

To the President of the United States:

THE Southern commercial Convention assembled at Knoxville, in August 1857, appointed the undersigned a committee to invoke the aid of the Executive, in obtaining some modifications of the excessive burdens, imposed by foreign Governments upon raw and manufactured tobacco, the product of the United States.

In performing this duty it is due to the interest which we represent to show its importance in a national point of view, as also the oppressive and illiberal policy of which it complains.

This memorial contains no new application. The only effort heretofore made by the Federal Government was unsuccessful, but a short narrative will suffice to show that our relations with the Governments of Europe have so far changed as to render the relief asked but a just consequence of these relations.

In the year 1838-'39, the President at the request of Congress, instructed our Ministers abroad to procure if possible a modification of the tobacco duties. They were also instructed to report all the information accessible, in regard to the foreign trade, and production of this important staple. A special agent was sent to co-operate with them.

Under these instructions our Minister to England, the Hon. A. Stevenson, of Virginia, held several interviews with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Board

of Trade. In these interviews the propriety of a reduction of the duties, on tobacco was pressed with a force of argument, admitted by those to whom it was addressed to be incontrovertible. Nevertheless it was replied that the income of \$15,000,000 from the tobacco duty, was important to the wants of the British Government, and that as the increase of consumption, and consequently of revenue, could not be *immediate*, the Ministry could not venture to propose any reduction of the tax. In the able report of our Minister, the extent to which tobacco smuggling was carried, was illustrated by the fact, that whilst the consumption of that article in Ireland, had amounted in the year 1836, to 20,000,000 pounds. The Government only received duties on 5,000,000 pounds. The whole amount of tobacco consumed in the United Kingdom, at that time, was not less than 50,000,000 pounds, of which 22,000,000 pounds, or less than one-half, paid duty. The difference, amounting to some \$20,000,000, going to the benefit of the smuggler and his associates!

From the German States, it was reported that having recently adjusted their Federal tariff, and having learned that the American revenue system had been fixed by the act of 1832, they considered that no reciprocal modification of duties could be effected.

From France no definite reply or information was obtained. Such was the response to the only regular diplomatic effort ever made by our Government, upon the subject of this memorial. The negotiations were ineffectual, because one Government considered this excessive tax upon American labor an indispensable contribution to its support; whilst others at that time believed the United States to be unable to enter upon a rateable reduction of duties, because her domestic obligations forbid any change of her tariff, except, according to a scale agreed on, by conflicting interests. We shall show subsequently that these latter obstacles no longer exist, and that the relations between the United States and the Governments referred to, render it the duty of those Governments to reduce the duties complained of.

We now proceed to estimate from authentic sources:

The quantity and value of Tobacco produced in the United States, at this time.

	Hds.	Value.
Whole quantity of leaf tobacco, exported in 1856.	115,481	\$17,322,150
Manufactured	10,000	15,000,000
Domestic consumption, in leaf, say.....	2,000	2,000,000
Total.....		\$34,322,150

That a comparative estimate of the importance of the chief agricultural exports of the United States, may be made, we present their respective values for the year 1857.*

* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for 1857.

The value of tobacco manufactured in Virginia and the portion of North Carolina, contiguous to it, is estimated at from fifteen to eighteen millions of dollars annually.*

As it will appear from this statement that tobacco is the second of our agricultural exports, it will be proper to compare the duties paid by these staples, in foreign markets.

Foreign duties upon the chief agricultural exports of the United States.

	Cotton.	Provision.	Rice.	Sugar.	Tobacco.
In England, per lb. upon...	..	..	..	2 to 3 cts. as per qual.	72 cts. and 5 per ct. on the ag. duties.
In France, per lb. upon...	½ct.	nom.	½ct.	prohibitory.	government monopoly.†
In Holland, per lb. upon...	..	nom.	nom.	nominal.	38 cents.
In Austria, per lb. upon...	..	mod.	½ct.	nominal.	48 cents‡
In Russia, per lb. upon....	½ct.	mod.	nom.	1½ct.	12½ cents.
In Zollverein, per lb. upon ..	..	heavy duties.	½ct.	5 cents.	38 cents.

To show the consumption of this staple by the States of Europe, and the aggregate revenue derived by them from its use, we add the following statements:

Aggregate quantity of American Tobacco annually imported into European States.

Great Britain.....	24,543,334
France.....	14,690,000
Holland.....	18,660,000
Hanse Towns.....	38,637,667
Belgium.....	4,824,000
Spain.....	3,000,000

Total number of pounds..... 104,355,001

The aggregate amount of Foreign duties annually collected by European Governments on American Tobacco, is as follows:

Great Britain.....	\$18,554,760
France.....	18,262,500
Austria.....	7,500,000
German States.....	1,800,000
Spain, say.....	500,000
Belgium.....	40,600
Holland.....	24,915
Hanse Towns.....	12,643

Total..... \$46,145,418

*Report of tobacco convention, Richmond Virginia, December, 1857. It is proper to say that this estimate of domestic consumption is made from the census of 1850. There can be no doubt that the quantity of tobacco produced in the United States has greatly increased since that time.

†The *regie* has the exclusive right to buy and sell all tobacco in France. The capital is \$45,000,000. No one can buy of any except the *regie*, and no one can retail without its license. It is a monopoly of the most injurious character to American interests. The State Department, in its Commercial Digest, says: "If tobacco was admitted into France as other products are admitted, we should export ten times as much as we now do."

‡Besides the import duty, an extra due for the grant of the license must be paid, amounting to 97 cents per pound for unmanufactured tobacco, and \$1 21½ per pound for manufactured.

But as England is our chief customer for these staples, it will be proper to comment upon the singular injustice with which she treats the great interest which the memorialists represent.

Taking the unusual price which tobacco has borne in the American market, for some years past, as the standard; the duty upon the tobacco, consumed in England, for the year 1856, may be stated at about *six hundred per cent. ad valorem*. With the reduction of price, however, to what has been usual in past years, the English duty will represent a tax of *fifteen hundred per cent.*, upon the price received by the American producer.

That these duties are oppressive to the producer is evident, from the emigration and transfer of slave labor, from the tobacco to the cotton States, from the low prices which this staple bears in the American market and by the small proportion of the crop exported. That they are burdensome to the English consumer, is shown by the strict surveillance, the heavy penalties, and the universal adulteration of the quantity imported. That the tax is inefficient as a revenue measure is proven by the fact, that capital punishment, forfeiture, and a special coast-guard has been wholly unable to prevent fraud or to collect duties upon more than half the tobacco consumed in the United Kingdom.

Having thus shown this duty to be unjust, and unproductive, we proceed to prove that *it is inconsistent with the principles of commercial reciprocity, proposed by the Government of England, and other European powers in their relations with the United States.*

Whilst the English duty on American tobacco, rises as high as fifteen hundred per cent. *ad valorem*, we find that the average American duty upon articles, the growth or product of England does not exceed twenty per cent!

Influenced by a just regard to the wishes of her people, as well as by the interests of her treasury. England decided to abandon the stringent and selfish system of protection, which was once thought necessary for the preservation of her agricultural and manufacturing interests. She has adopted the more liberal plan of protecting these interests, by furnishing cheap supplies and untaxed raw material. Under this policy she has repealed her corn laws, and admitted American provisions duty free. She has also struck off the duty upon American cotton, and upon an extended schedule of articles, which enter more or less into the production of various fabrics. These are of course wise measures of protection, since the manufacture of this great American staple, of cotton, gives occupation and support to 1,500,000 Englishmen, invest-

ment to £100,000,000, and enters into the creation of at least £200,000,000 of annual value.

The whole revenue history of England confirms that enlightened axiom; that low duties increase public revenues, and promote popular comfort. A slight reduction of the duty on tea, increased its consumption nearly fifty per cent. A similar reduction on coffee quadrupled in a few years, the importation of that article, whilst the great measure of penny postage, has repealed a tax on intelligence without impairing the resources of the Government.

But since the refusal of England in 1838-'39, to reduce the duties upon American tobacco, the policy of the United States has also undergone a radical change. Under the permanent ascendancy of domestic principle, the doctrine of free trade has been embodied in a series of revenue acts, which have reduced the duties on English manufactures to the extent which we have stated.

This harmonious policy between the two nations, seems to have led to more liberal and reciprocal relations. By the treaty of Ashburton the tonnage duties imposed by each government, upon the vessels of the other have been repealed, except as to the coastwise trade.

The treaty of Washington throws open the valuable fisheries of New Foundland, and Nova Scotia, to American enterprise. It admits all the raw material, and agricultural products of the Canadian Colonies into the United States, free of duty, and admits all the agricultural products and raw material of the United States *except tobacco*—into the Canadas free of duty. Besides these substantial evidences of an *entente cordial*, the two nations have made postal regulations of the most liberal character, and have entered into a convention under which the United States contracts with England, never to acquire another foot of land in Central America.

Such has been the policy established between the two governments. It has promoted every industrial interest in either country except one, and this is the interest represented by the memorialists.

It is with no disposition to complain of old grievances, but to show the consistent neglect which the interests confided to them have always received at the hands of those to whom alone they had a right to look for protection, that the memorialists refer to the past.

The colonial annals will prove their earlier oppressions.*

History will show that during the revolutionary war, the

* See Pamphlet in Congressional Library, showing the grievances and remonstrance of the Virginia planters, 1730-'3.

British army captured more than six thousand slaves, and that they also plundered and destroyed large quantities of tobacco, this injury was inflicted chiefly upon the plantations of Virginia and Maryland. By the treaty of 1783 England bound herself not to carry out of the United States "any negroes or other property" belonging to American citizens. Contrary to this solemn agreement, those slaves were carried out of the country by the British army.†

During the war, however, the State Legislatures had retaliated for these depredations by confiscating the debts due to British subjects as well as by sequestering the income of the property held by them. The debt thus due by the citizens of Virginia, had been paid into the Treasury in prosecution of the common war; and certificates of indebtedness greatly depreciated in value, were held by those who had been British debtors. Such was the state of things at the close of the revolution, will it be believed that an American Minister negotiated with Great Britain in 1793, a treaty which recognized and renewed the whole of this confiscated debt and exonerated England from making any compensation either for the slaves or the tobacco carried away and destroyed by her armies. The treaty also surrendered to England the exclusive right to transport American cotton!

During the whole of this period, when the tobacco planter was compelled to pay his debt twice over—when the duties on American vessels, American provisions, American manufactures, and American cotton had been taken off, the British duty on tobacco rose from a trifling colonial subsidy to the exorbitant burden of four shillings per pound. It has since been reduced to fifty cents per pound, that tax having been ascertained, by experiment, to be the highest to which the consumer could submit.

We ask your Excellency to reflect upon these undoubted facts, and consider the consistent disregard which this important interest has experienced at the hands of foreign governments as well as of our own. Indeed, it would almost seem as if it had been the victim of an infamous combination, to oppress and destroy it. For let us see if the facts do not prove that the tobacco interest has been surrendered to British taxation, whilst other interests of both nations have been relieved of their burdens.

What is this bargain? Upon the one side England retained, for an extended period, her northwestern posts, and thus re-

† It is an instructing national fact that these kidnapped slaves, having proved as usual a nuisance to their benefactors, many of them were sent to Sierra Leone, and founded the first experiment in colonization. These colonists have however nearly all perished.

pressed the progress of our western settlements. She was released from any responsibility for six thousand slaves, carried away contrary to the provisions of a treaty. She obtained the release and restoration of a large confiscated debt. She has procured the admission of her provincial timber and other productions into the American market, duty free. She has secured the assistance of the American navy to keep down the competition of slave labor with her own colonies. She has bound the United States to acquire no territory in Central America without her permission. She has secured cheap cotton and free provisions from the United States, a reduced duty upon her own manufactures, and throughout all this diplomacy she has maintained a tax upon American tobacco which produces her annually a revenue of twenty millions of dollars. On the other hand, the United States has obtained a free market for its cotton and provisions. The fishermen of Maine, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts have been admitted to the fisheries of New Foundland. The wool of Connecticut and Pennsylvania is vended, without revenue license, in the Canadas. The clippers of New York and Boston carry, without tonnage tax, the cargoes of Calcutta and Liverpool.

Does it not seem that the proscribed staple, represented by your memorialists, has paid the consideration for much of these reciprocal advantages?

Would it not appear that England has limited in its application to tobacco a principle of reciprocity which she has extended to all other American products? Does it not seem that the Government of the United States has surrendered the taxation of this important staple to secure relief to other interests of more sectional importance to her negotiators?

The onerous duties on tobacco enables England to reduce *pro tanto* the duties on articles essential to her manufactures. These duties also pay for the special favors shown to other American interests.

Your committee will not charge that this systematic imposition upon one staple, and indulgence to others, is intentional, but really under other circumstances such a coincidence looks almost like collusion.

Without making so serious a charge against the patriotism or justice of their own government, they deem themselves justified in asserting that the staple of tobacco has been at once the victim of foreign injustice and domestic neglect.

The memorialists are really at a loss to know what reasons to assign for so unjust a discrimination against the interests which they represent.

It cannot be justified by any peculiar immorality in the use

of tobacco, because clergymen, physicians, and philosophers indulge in it. It has become as much an established usage of civilization as coffee—perhaps it is as nutritious.

The use of some stimulant seems indispensable to man. The savage finds in vegetable fermentation some oblivion of his cares, or some excitement in his pleasures. Some nations have been compelled, at the point of the bayonet, to tolerate the stupefaction of opium; others find capital and science ready to furnish malt, vinous, and spirituous liquors in destructive abundance.

Since then mankind *will* indulge in some form of mental stimulus; the improvement in quality, and reduction of price in an article which enters so largely and so innocently into popular enjoyment, should be an object of importance to every government which professes to consult the comfort or content of the people. And as the variations of the human temperament require some stimulant to preserve the mental equilibrium, perhaps the moralist had as well compromise upon one which withdraws little from the primary wants of food and clothing, and which neither impedes nor impairs the capacity of man for physical labor, nor affects the mental powers.

Indeed, such is the demand in Europe for this comparatively innocent stimulus, that the people, excluded from the use of sound tobacco by the exorbitant taxes imposed upon it, habitually consume any vegetable substance which will answer as a substitute, although adulterated with minerals of the most deleterious nature.

How much better it would seem to reduce the duty upon the manufactured tobacco of America, and thereby secure to the consumer an article sounder and better selected, at a far smaller outlay than it now costs to obtain a poisonous imitation.

Your committee regret that they are obliged to search for the sources of this obnoxious discrimination to which they refer in some other cause than the moral wrong or physical injury resulting from the use of tobacco.

These causes are, in their opinion, threefold. The first: *that tobacco is the only product of slave labor which does not, in some manner, enter into the manufactures of Europe.* The second: that being classed as a luxury, both the producer and consumer may be taxed with impunity. The third: the singular neglect of our own Government to insist upon the conformity of European nations to the system of free trade, and reciprocity established by the United States in its commercial relations with them.

Your committee have thus far represented the interests of the planters and manufacturers of America; but it is to be

remembered that this important staple is connected with many other investments of industry and capital.

The shipping of New England and New York are employed to carry abroad more than one hundred thousand hogsheads annually, and this quantity would be greatly increased if the markets of the world were opened by a reduction of the duties.

These cargoes are sold, and the values imported into the commercial cities of the North, either in specie or in merchandize; the first aids in depressing the currency of the southern States; the last is resold to the producer at a profit upon the European cost. The planter has thus furnished the funds to pay for his supplies, and paid a premium to the importer for his agency in purchasing them.

Any loss, then, in the receipts from this staple, or any restriction of the values exported, must occasion a proportionate loss to all who are interested in its exportation, or the importation and sale of its representative values.

Without, therefore, extending these views, your committee hope that your Excellency will consider the rights, interests, and grievances which they represent.

They ask that our Ministers in Europe shall be instructed to keep before the governments to which they are accredited the justice and expediency of a modification of the duties upon American tobacco, both to the producer and consumer.

They ask that our Government will not overlook any opportunity to exact such a modification by making it the basis of such reciprocal favors as may be asked at its hands by other governments.

But should these governments refuse to consider the subject in a rational and reciprocal point of view, it will become proper to inform them that the Government of the United States regards the present onerous duties on a principal American staple as inconsistent with the system of free trade and reciprocity, which it has established; and such governments should be assured that they cannot longer hope to be supported in part by a tax upon American labor.

It is scarcely the province of your memorialists to designate the remedial measures to be pursued by the Government of the United States. They will, however, suggest, for consideration, two, which have occurred to them.

1st. That the Government of the United States should employ the earliest occasion, when foreign governments, imposing unequal and onerous taxes on tobacco, shall ask at its hands some commercial or other concession important to them, to require from such governments a proper reduction of such taxes.

2d. That Congress shall impose upon the productions of such countries, imported into the United States; countervailing duties, equal in their effect to the taxes upon tobacco complained of.

Your memorialists leave the question of the constitutional power and political expediency of these measures with the proper departments of the Government. It is their province to bring their grievances before the Government; it is the duty of the Government to examine, and if possible to redress them. Should, however, the latter remedy suggested be adopted by the Government, our fellow-citizens, who now enjoy an exemption from foreign duties, will at least have an opportunity to share in the burdens which oppress this persecuted interest. They will thus co-operate in the reduction of those burdens. The nations of Europe will be satisfied that republicans cannot be bribed by special favors shown to one sectional interest to conspire in the oppression and taxation of another.

We cannot, however, anticipate that enlightened nations, connected with us by treaty relations of the most amicable and reciprocal character, will continue, against reason and remonstrance, a duty so unjust, excessive, and offensive as that which has so long rested upon one of the chief agricultural staples and commercial commodities of the United States, or that they will drive us to the extreme remedies suggested in this memorial. They will, we hope, promptly assent to such a modification of the duties upon tobacco as will alike promote the interests of the American producer and the European consumer.

W. M. BURWELL, *of Virginia*,
JAMES GUTHRIE, *of Kentucky*,
WM. BREWER, *of Maryland*,
TENCH TILGHMAN, *of Maryland*.

AFRICA—ITS CONDITION AND COMMERCIAL CAPABILITIES.

WE have never had much faith in Liberian Colonization, but many of our friends have, and they are entitled to the following summary:

The Rev. T. J. Bowen, who has resided several years in the Yaruba country near the Niger, recently met the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, and communicated very interesting and satisfactory information in regard to the soil, climate, resources, and people of that region of Africa, and its great advantages for colonization. To various questions proposed by gentlemen of the committee, he

replied in such manner as to awaken expectations of large success to the enterprise of colonization if made in that direction. He stated that the distance from Monrovia to Lagos was from a thousand to twelve hundred miles, and from Cape Palmas to the same not far from eight hundred. The voyage down the coast from Liberia to Lagos, in sailing vessels or steamers, the current being in their favor, would be easy and rapid—sailing vessels rounding down in less than a week. But the return, to sailing vessels, was slow and difficult; to steamers, somewhat retarded. He thought the time of the voyage from the United States to Lagos would be nearly the same as that to Monrovia.

To the inquiry concerning the extent of the country now desolated by the slave trade and open to colonization in Yaruba, Mr. Bowen stated that it extended from a little north of Lagos to Raba, on the Niger, (which place, owing to the great bend in that river, was about seven hundred miles from its mouth,) and was from thirty to fifty and more miles wide, capable of giving support to one or three hundred thousand emigrants. The northern part of this district borders on the Niger, and the people who should occupy it might command a vast trade from Central Africa. It would not be very difficult or expensive to construct a railroad from the vicinity of Lagos to Raba. Timber well adapted to the purpose abounds in the country. The tract lies not far from many large towns and cities—Abbeokuta, the home of the English missionaries, containing sixty or eighty thousand people, and Illorin, (very much under the influence of Mahomedanism,) and some sixty miles or a little more from the Niger, two or three hundred thousand. From this latter city a great caravan trade is carried on with Central Africa, and even across the Desert to Egypt and the Mediterranean. The district described is about two hundred miles from the capital of Dahomey.

To the question could land for a colonial settlement be obtained, Mr. Bowen replied that he had no doubt of it, but it must be by negotiation with the king and chiefs of the country. The towns are independent of each other in nearly all respects, though the king has some rights of a very limited monarchy. Any civilized community that might be established would manage its own affairs; and if lands were ceded, as he believed they readily would be, and at a moderate price, it would be regarded as independent. The cost of supporting emigrants there during the first six or twelve months would probably not exceed much, if any, the amount expended on emigrants in Liberia. As to their security, it must depend upon their good conduct and courage, and the advantages of their residence to the people of the country. Those advan-

tages would be mutual, the people of Yaruba being very fond of trade, anxious to obtain articles of foreign commerce, and able and willing to pay for them. They have abundance of Indian corn and other provisions, which they would gladly exchange for our cloths and other manufactures.

To the inquiry as to the preliminary measures necessary to the colonization of this country, Mr. Bowen thought one or more commissioners or special agents (men acquainted with such matters, like Dr. Hall, of Baltimore) should visit and examine the country, confer with the native Governments, fix upon the best sites for settlements, and make full report of their observations to the society. The English Government own no territory in this part of Africa, and he thought would throw no obstacles in the way of the enterprise. As one measure of the greatest importance, Mr. Bowen mentioned an exploration of the Niger by the United States Government. A bill for this great commercial purpose passed the Senate at its last session. He hoped it would be renewed and pass both Houses during the present one. The great caravan trade to the East might be secured by proper measures to this country.

When asked what effect the colonization of the Yaruba district would have upon Liberia, he replied that it must prove a benefit, by extending her intercourse and influence and increasing her trade. Corn had been already shipped from Yaruba to Liberia. It was very desirable that the Government of Liberia should be consulted and co-operate in the enterprise. All civilized settlements in Western Africa must, sooner or later, be united under one Republican Government. He thought the United States squadron on the African coast might render important service in the founding of the proposed settlement. Its advantages to commerce, civilization, and Christianity would be immense. The country was high, fertile, and healthy, and the people of that region, kind, hospitable, and much advanced towards civilization.

THE NUMBERING OF THE PEOPLE.

FRANKLIN B. HOUGH, the very able superintendent of the New York Census of 1855, is reported to have remarked, as follows, upon the subject at a late meeting of the Historical society:

"Although the occasion of obtaining a census has been seized as a favorable opportunity for procuring a multitude of facts relating to agriculture, manufactures, and various statistics of an educational, religious, and literary character, still

the primary and prominent end of its inquiries is to develop the individual and social condition of man; to penetrate into his most intimate social relations, and discover the organic elements of the civil economy.

"In private life, it takes him at the first day of his existence, adds him to the general number of births, and retains him perhaps three fourths of a century in its columns. It reckons him a dozen years at school, and perhaps records him among the marriages. It makes him figure in the classification of the varied professions and occupations of life, or assigns him a place among the civil or official stations of the country; or it may be, unfortunately, in the statistics of asylums or prisons; and at length, after figuring many times in the drama of life, it ranks him in the fatal column.

"In the course of life, how much of good or evil to the general well-being may have depended upon this unit of the population! At the tribunal, on the jury, at the elections, in the legislative assembly, he may have represented a decision, a verdict, a vote, upon which, perhaps, hung the balance of justice, or the destinies of the State.

"His industry or wealth became the source of numbers which expressed agricultural or industrial production, and all the interests which accompany their fortune. If unfortunate, and needing the aid of public charities, the census kindly directed attention to his necessities, and enabled the Government to proportion its charities to the demands actually existing upon them.

"Although for many centuries, among Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, enumerations corresponding with our census were employed to second the wonderful development of civilization and art to which these nations attained, the application of statistics, like that of kindred sciences, was lost during the middle ages.

"After the revival of learning, this science long remained purely speculative and unapplied, to public affairs; rejected by the people as a fiscal invention for more thoroughly exhausting their slender resources, or as a contrivance for further facilitating military conscriptions—and shunned by princes, as divulging the secrets of their government, or perhaps betraying their weakness to the calculating and aggressive cupidity of some neighboring rival power.

"The want of data for an intelligent administration of the affairs of her American Colonies, led the English Government, at an early period, and from time to time to direct an enumeration of their inhabitants; and we have during the last century a better knowledge of our population than that of England herself during the same period."

ROSS ON SLAVERY AND STILES' MODERN REFORM.

THE above are the titles of two books upon the *great question* of this day and generation, given to the public during the past half-year, by the liberal publishing house of Messrs. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia. We have observed the imprint of this House, upon more Southern books, and books of Northern authors friendly to the South, than any other beyond that line, almost mythical, popularly known as Mason and Dixon's. We have no means of knowing whether this fact is accidental or not, nor whether we are doing a service to Messrs. Lippincott & Co., by calling public attention to it. It is but justice to say that all their publications, which have fallen under our eye, are equally creditable to their taste and their liberality. Print, large, clear and distinct—paper, clean and white,—and binding, neat, strong, and substantial, are no small things to the habitual readers of books. Such is the typographical banquet Messrs. Lippincott & Co. set before the public, to say nothing of the flavor of the literary viands so skilfully served up.

Before proceeding to notice the works, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this paper, we feel it a duty to say, that, in our opinion, Southern authors, relying too much upon mere rude-strength and coarse vigor, neglect those delicate graces and that refinement and polish of language which serve to make up that composite thing—excellence of style. In a word, there is a lamentable deficiency of what the French term *tournure*, of graceful turn of expression, of finish, and of completeness. Southern authors despise the *labor limae* as an occupation, fit only for the unintellectual drudge. Yet, without this carefulness, this pruning of redundancies, this rubbing down of asperities, we greatly fear the literature of the South will not be held in the estimation it deserves by foreign nations and in future times. It is not necessary to sacrifice strength in order to attain polish. As between strength with rusticity, and elegance with feebleness there can be no hesitation. But, fortunately, we are not forced to make any such choice. A gentleman may have a decent regard to his *dress*, without sacrificing his manliness or his principles, in any degree. A clown is no whit the more truthful because his clothes are of coarse materials and badly made. As in dress, so in style, coxcombry is one thing, elegance is quite another. Hercules, although the type of strength, is represented as a model of manly beauty, not as an ill-shapen monster. The master-pieces of Greek literature are exemplars, no less of the utmost refinement and polish of which language is capable, than of the weightiness of their matter, and the

precision of their logic. The Athenians rigorously required grace, elegance, and correctness in even the most trifling particulars. It is related that Demosthenes, on one occasion, was hissed from the *bema* for the vicious pronunciation of a single word; that Theophrastus, after having lived and taught in Athens for twenty years, was detected, by a single false accent, for a foreigner, by an apple woman. Not in Greek literature only, but in all literature, the great masters are noted no less for their *manner* of expression, than for the *matter* of those "thoughts which wander through eternity;" not less for the drapery of style, than for the substantial reality of the ideas which that drapery enfold. The Graces are benignant deities, who bountifully reward all who sacrifice at their altars. It is surely not necessary to pursue this subject. If southern authors fancy that elegance is but another name for weakness, they will one day awake from their dream, when the phantom-Fame, which they pursue, shall have eluded their grasp. Gold to be rendered fit for either the useful or ornamental purposes of life, must be molten, refined, and purged from the dross of its ore. The diamond must be cut and polished, before it emits its rays of roseate light.

The great fault of southern writers is want of accuracy of scholarship; and we fear they are guilty of the too common error of confounding learning with pedantry, which last is but a species of mental dyspepsia, the disease of an unsound mind overladen with intellectual food. Too much learning doubtless enfeebles the mind, and destroys, to a certain extent, original power of thought, but there is a *juste milieu* in this as in all other things, and we are generally more inclined to be content with too little learning than to acquire too much.

There are some southern authors who are not amenable to this charge. Aristarchus himself might have approved every line of Legaré. Apollo's lute was not "more musical" than his periods. The harp of Orpheus "charmed not more divinely" than the sonorous cadence of his sentences. But Legaré is almost the solitary example in southern letters of thorough scholarship. In this respect, and in most other respects, he was the peer of any man in America, before or since his day.

It is cause for congratulation that the South, after a Rip Van Winkle slumber, is now awakening to the importance of thorough education, and of organizing great establishments of learning within her own limits, as a means of preparation for the conflict, which each year grows more fierce and more relentless against the social and domestic institutions upon which rest her prosperity, her peace, and her strength. The pure stream of literature has been corrupted by the turbid waters of Abolition, and it has, at last, become a *necessity* to the South to

have a literature of her own. The University of Virginia, and possibly other Southern institutions, have laid broad, deep, and solid, within the past few years, the foundations upon which is to be reared the superstructure of the new literature. Already in their halls has been trained a corps of Southern teachers equal, in scholarship and general efficiency, to any within the limits of this broad land. Already the first fruits of a more rigid mental discipline are beginning to appear. Already the results of a more generous culture are visible. Already we have reason to hope and expect that, in the future, Southern literature will not be devoid, as too generally it was in times past, of that grace of diction, propriety of expression, and accuracy of phrase, which only, after all, can secure the attentive ear of the world to reasoning the most logical, or thoughts the most profound.

The book of Dr. Ross, we fear, cannot be placed within the category we have last mentioned. It is characterized by great vivacity, has a few passages of genuine eloquence, and presents some arguments with great force and power—but generally the style is loose, inaccurate, and disjointed. We can forgive the style, however, in consideration of the excellence of much of the matter; but at the same time, we cannot help deploring the fact, that style should be thought by him a matter of so little moment, which is as much as to say, that arrangement, precision, the right use of language, the fit word in the fit place, at best, are but of minor importance. Upon reflection, we do not know that it would be hardly fair to exact too much in the way of elegance from a volume made up as Dr. Ross's work is. It consists of two speeches delivered by the author in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: the first at Buffalo in 1853, and the other in New York in 1856; and also of several letters addressed to the Rev. Albert Barnes upon the Biblical relations of slavery. The speeches evidently were never intended for publication in the book form, and consequently are not rightfully subject to the canons of a rigid criticism. They might, however, have been amended by the omission of some and by the condensation of much of the matter. They bear the marks of being printed as they were delivered, and even for this purpose, as to form, not very elaborately prepared. Unlike many pretentious orations, they were not written out, conned, and got by rote. But, in our opinion, it is a respect due the public, and it is due to the author's own reputation, when he collects into a printed book, his ephemeral productions, whether speeches, letters, newspaper articles, or essays, to subject them to a careful, a rigid, and even a stern revision. This, as we have said above, Dr. Ross has not done. But even as they are, with all their imperfec-

tions, these speeches are well worthy of preservation. They contain many striking views of the subject to which they relate, and they are well calculated to do much good, both in the way of refutation of error and confirmation of conviction. It is because they have so much merit that we would have desired their preparation in a shape to stand the test of time and of criticism. Whether the letters to the Rev. Mr. Barnes were genuine epistles, or for the first time addressed to him in the volume we have under review, it does not appear. The best of the series in point of argument, but not of good taste and style, is the one on the rightful interpretation of the Golden Rule—"Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." The reverend "Expounder of the Gospels" is made to feel the strong arm of his opponent in many a vigorous blow, and we think he will hardly be able to recover from the intellectual thrashing he has received and so richly merited.

The most important idea inculcated in Dr. Ross' book is, that *right* and *wrong* are not eternal facts; or, in other words, they do not exist independently of God, but exist solely by his will, making by his *command* certain things or actions to be right, and others by his *prohibition* to be wrong. This view is very fully illustrated by a variety of striking facts, among others by polygamy, which is not necessarily a sin in itself, but only became a sin after it was positively prohibited. So, too, marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity was not wrong of itself until it was prohibited, otherwise Cain and Abel were guilty of *sin* when they married their sisters *in obedience to the command of God*—"Be fruitful, multiply, and replenish the earth." Acknowledging the unity of the human family, this injunction involved of necessity the marriage of brother and sister. The eating of the forbidden fruit by our first parents was only a *sin* because the violation of a *command*. Slavery belongs to the same category, and Dr. Ross treats this branch of the subject in the following language:

"Let us, then, North and South, bring our minds to comprehend two ideas, and submit to their irresistible power. Let the Northern philanthropist learn from the Bible, that the relation of master and slave is not sin *per se*. Let him learn that God says nowhere it is sin. Let him learn that sin is a transgression of the law; and where there is no law there is no sin, and that the golden rule may exist in the relations of slavery. Let him learn that slavery is simply an evil in certain circumstances. Let him learn that equality is only the highest form of social life; that subjection to authority, even slavery, may, in given conditions, be for a time better than freedom to the slave of any complexion. Let him learn that slavery, like all evils, has its corresponding and greater good; that the Southern slave, though degraded, compared with his master, is elevated and ennobled, compared with his brethren in Africa."

The other idea alluded to is, that *God never intended the relation of master and slave to be perpetual*. In absence of

revelation, time alone can test the truth of this opinion. One thing, however, is certain, that without a radical alteration of the nature of man, subordination in some form, partaking largely of the nature of slavery, must exist so long as this earth remains the dwelling-place of our fallen race.

We conclude our notice of Dr. Ross's book by giving the following extract, embracing a series of resolutions which Dr. R. playfully offered in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, convened at Buffalo, as an amendment to a report to that body, proposing to appoint a committee to ascertain the number of slaveholders in connection with the Presbyterian Church in certain of the Southern States, and the number of slaves held by them; the manner in which they performed their duties as masters in regard to the moral and religious well-being of their slaves, &c., &c.:

Dr. Ross moved to amend the report, by substituting the following—with an express disavowal of being impertinently inquisitorial:—

That a committee of one from each of the northern synods of——be appointed, who shall be requested to report to the next General Assembly—

1. The number of Northern church members concerned, directly or indirectly, in building and fitting out ships for the African slave-trade, and the slave-trade between the States.

2. The number of Northern church members who traffic with slaveholders, and are seeking to make money by selling them negro clothing, hand cuffs, and cowhides.

3. The number of Northern church members who have sent orders to New Orleans, and other Southern cities, to have slaves sold, to pay debts owing them from the South. (See Uncle Tom's Cabin.)

4. The number of Northern church members who buy the cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, oranges, pine-apples, figs, ginger, cocoa, melons, and a thousand other things, raised by slave labour.

5. The number of Northern church members who have intermarried with slaveholders, and have thus become slaveowners themselves, or enjoy the wealth made by the blood of the slave; especially if there be any Northern ministers of the gospel in such a predicament.

6. The number of Northern church members who are the descendants of the men who kidnapped negroes in Africa, and brought them to Virginia and New England, in former years.

7. The aggregate and individual wealth of members thus descended, and what action is best to compel them to disgorge this blood-stained gold, or to compel them to give dollar for dollar in equalizing the loss of the South by emancipation.

8. The number of Northern church members, ministers especially, who have advocated murder in resistance to the laws of the land.

9. The number of Northern church members who own stock in under-ground railroads, running off fugitive slaves, and in Sabbath breaking railroads and canals.

10. That a special commission be sent up Red river, to ascertain whether Le-gree, who whipped Uncle Tom to death, (and who was a Northern gentleman,) be not still in connection with some Northern church in good and regular standing.

11. The number of Northern church members who attend meetings of spiritual rappers, or bloomers, or women's rights conventions.

12. The number of Northern church members who are cruel husbands,

13. The number of Northern church members who are hen-pecked husbands.

“Modern Reform Examined, or The Union of North and South on the Subject of Slavery,” is the title, in full, of the

work of the Rev. J. C. Stiles, which we have placed second in the heading of this article. It is altogether more ambitious in its design, and aims at greater dignity of discussion, than the work of Dr. Ross. In fact, it purports to be a formal treatise upon certain given aspects of the fruitful question of slavery. It displays less eloquence, but far more method; less vivacity, but far more logical precision; and, we think, is calculated to make a more permanent impression upon the public mind, than Dr. R.'s somewhat rambling, discursive, and familiar, but interesting book.

Dr. Stiles, we understand, is a native of Georgia, but has long been resident at the North, and occupies a very prominent position in the great Presbyterian branch of the Christian Church, and his name, in times past, has been quite conspicuous, as a debater in General Assemblies and Synods, but he now makes his bow to the public for the first time, in the new character of author. He has written a book, evidently the result of mature thought and well-digested observation and reflection, and which, spite of many crudities, many inaccuracies of expression, and occasional inelegance of style, we venture the opinion, will carry his name down to posterity as a vigorous thinker. We fear, that like most Southern writers educated under the old *regime*, he regards grammatical correctness of construction, and precision in the use of words and phrase, as mere puerilities, not worthy the consideration of a man of sense. We observe the frequent use, throughout the entire volume, of such expressions as "*the alone fruit*," "*table the charge*," and other kindred barbarisms. Such violations of propriety and good taste, are exceedingly offensive to the educated eye and ear, and detract from the value of any work, however meritorious it might otherwise be.

Dr. Stiles discusses but one branch of the subject of "Modern Reform," and that one, its relation to slavery. His book is intended rather for the meridian of the North than the South, and we doubt not it will remove many prejudices honestly entertained. Of course, it will make no impression upon fanatics and bigots, but it is calculated to influence that large conservative class whose minds are open to conviction and willing to yield to argument. He discusses the character of the *soi-disant* reformer, and shows with great force and clearness how unfitted he is to conduct any movement in the slightest degree beneficial to society or to individuals, and devotes separate chapters to each of his leading characteristics, any one of which would disqualify him for the work he has undertaken. It is shown with great success, that he is *arrogant, malignant, belligerent, impracticable, and destructive*. Under these heads, the Doctor presents facts, arguments and

illustrations, which cannot fail to carry conviction to any mind not enslaved by the most narrow and illiberal views. Rough strength and directness united with fairness and candor are the chief characteristics of the book, but we must beg leave to express dissent from many of the author's assertions and admissions. Northern superiority in mind we cannot acknowledge, even when Southern superiority in morals and religion is at the same time conceded, which, for ourselves, we neither affirm nor deny. All of truth does not lie upon the one side of *any* question, and all of error upon the other, but it does not follow that middle ground is always true ground; on the contrary, what is called an extreme view very frequently is more nearly a correct one. *In medio tutissimus ibis* is not always true in morals, although it is generally a safe rule for practical guidance in life. A reputation for conservatism and moderation is cheaply acquired by the seeming fairness of making large concessions to both sides, and agreeing with neither. There is a little too much of this in "Modern Reform," and Dr. Stiles seems to be sorely exercised lest he should have the damning epithet—"Pro-slavery" affixed to his name.

There are many aspects of the question, "Modern Reform," so-called, besides that of slavery, which we regret did not come within the scope of Dr. Stiles' plan to treat. It is a subject admirably suited to the character of his hard, dry, mathematical mind, and we might have expected from his trenchant pen, a thorough exposure of its shallow pretensions. Unless its tendency be arrested, it is as certain as the course of destiny, it is as fixed as the laws of fate, that the "argosy of society," with all its "costly freight" of human hopes, prosperity, and happiness, must go down, and its rich treasures be engulfed in the insatiable sea of social revolution and anarchy.

The events of the last ten or twelve years, commencing with the period immediately preceding the Mexican War, have produced an intense degree of mental activity in the United States. The feelings, good and bad, of the people have been stirred to their lowest depths. Mind has been sharpened and invigorated by contact with mind in the case of individuals and of whole communities. This impulse has been felt through all the ramifications of society, in all relations of life, in letters, as in politics and in religion. The democratic principle, through its abuse, has acquired a fearful momentum, and threatens to sweep with resistless torrent, overwhelming and subverting every barrier erected by the wisdom of time against its progress. Each year it makes some new conquest—each year it assumes some new form or

puts on some specious appearance. Now, it demands an elective judiciary; next, the abolition of all wholesome restraints upon the elective franchise; again, the enactment of a homestead bill giving land to the landless. The most dangerous tendency it has yet exhibited is in the recent attempt, made by vulgar demagogues in its name, to break down the representative principle by referring constitutions and codes to the people in mob-meeting assembled, forgetting that the very essence of Americanism, as formerly understood, that the dominant idea of American institutions was the exercise of popular sovereignty through the instrumentality of representatives and delegates. If it were possible to *democratize* the human mind and reduce all to the same base level, no respect for divine order and subordination would restrain the rude hand of this monster. The upshot of the whole is, it has become evident, that our institutions will rapidly assume the form of democratic absolutism, unless some timely corrective be applied.

It is to be regretted that this subject of "*sociology*," to use an apt and comprehensive neologism, has not yet been properly discussed, inasmuch as it affords a fertile field from which an abundant harvest of philosophical speculation and practical suggestion might be reaped by even a moderately skilful writer. The two works of Mr. George Fitzhugh, entitled "*Sociology for the South or the Failure of Free Society*," and "*Cannibals All, or Slaves without Masters*," present many valuable, original, and profound views on this subject. But Mr. Fitzhugh confines himself chiefly to the labor question in its relations to capital and to society, or rather, he runs a parallel between free labor or slavery to capital, and slavery to human masters.

"*Cannibals All*," despite its *outré* title, to a thinking mind is a most interesting book, but it contains too much matter for the weak digestion of ordinary readers. We fear that it is, and will remain *caviare* to the million. Such books must bide their time, and if they have merit, it will be appropriately recognized sooner or later. Neglect is always the penalty of being in advance of one's age. Lord Bacon remarks that "some books are merely to be tasted, others to be chewed, and others still, to be swallowed and digested." The excellence of Mr. F.'s two works is, by no means uniform; we are sometimes startled by a profound remark in the midst of a great deal of twaddle; but, notwithstanding their unequal execution and their bad arrangement, we think they might fairly be placed in the latter class of Lord Bacon's category. Carelessness, want of method, and of unity of plan are patent faults lying upon the very surface of his books, which must strike the most inattentive reader. Mr. Fitzhugh has not

husbanded his resources, but has recklessly squandered them, wasting enough matter to enrich half a dozen well-known authors of the day we might mention. His mind is populous with thoughts, but they constitute a population, turbulent, and refractory, and not sufficiently subjected to the strict discipline of *slavery* to reason and prudence. If we might assume the office of adviser, we would counsel Mr. F. to consolidate his two books, collect his various essays on kindred subjects published in this Review, purge them drastically of their irrelevant matter, reconstruct and re-arrange the whole, preserving the leading ideas, and give the result to the world in a formal treatise upon social science; and we think we may safely predict for him a large increase of present reputation, and probably a permanent place in the literature of his country.

But it was no part of our purpose to review Mr. Fitzhugh, having been led into this digression by a natural association of ideas, while briefly touching upon the subject of modern reform.

MONARCHY VS. DEMOCRACY.

IS OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT A FAILURE?

THE age we live in seems rife with the spirit of innovation. The best established truths in politics, government, society, and religion, are assailed by a class of modern theorists, with a zeal and speciousness which indicate a most lamentable perversion of intellect and morals. Nothing seems to stand with them upon a solid foundation, and were their doctrines to prevail, the world would be thrown into universal chaos. Masculine women are perambulating the country, preaching the right of their sex to discard all feminine delicacy, and divide with men the honors and labors of the former, the field and the cabinet. Socialists are industriously propagating the licentious doctrine of free-love, or, the indiscriminate commerce of the sexes. Another class advocate the levelling of all property distinctions—another favors the equality of the white and black races of men—and all these combined, with yet another class, who may be known by the general appellation of Rationalists, are, like Satan and his hosts, assailing with their infernal artillery of infidelity, the very embattlements of Heaven itself! There is a class, the opposite of these, who would delight above all things, to see reversed the old maxim, that "revolutions never go backwards." They are opposed to all progress and reform—disbelieve in the capacity of the people for self-government—regard with favor the "divine right of kings," and, had they

the power, would turn back the tide in the affairs of men, until it ran into the "good old feudal times" of the lordly barons of the middle ages. The character of these two classes of minds, however, is of alike dangerous cast. The one is the convex, and the other the concave of the truth; and each is as erratic in its course as the veering comet in space, or the chartless ship upon the bosom of the trackless and billow-tossed ocean. They are unsettled and visionary. They have no mental anchorage, where reason and conscience can establish their throne and perform their functions in placid security—

"Airy fancy doth cheat their minds."

In the February number of this Review, appeared an article on the "*Progress of Federal Disorganization*," which, without discourtesy, we may attribute to the latter class of mind, and which is of such novel import, and presents views in such strange contrast with all our received and well established notions of the relative merits and advantages of our own, and other governments, that we think it ought not to pass without criticism. The object of the author is to show that our form of "political organization" bids fair to prove a failure; and the writer rests the support of his proposition upon what he represents to be its "inherent weakness, apparent in its nature and as exhibited in the history of kindred systems," and in the transformation in our own, which he thinks is now going on. This might be passed by as the mere expression of an individual opinion, upon a question about which every one may be allowed to have his own theory, and the truth of which cannot be at present determined; but the writer goes farther, and proceeds to institute a partial comparison between our republican and representative system of Government, and the hereditary systems of the Old World, in which he displays evidently a decided partiality for the latter.

Had the writer simply expressed the belief that our National Union is destined to be of short duration, compared with the venerable monarchies of Europe, we should have no debate with him; because we fear it is by no means certain that the sands of our national existence are not fast running out. But we do not understand that to be his position. He draws no distinction between the National Union and our federative system of government, but confounds the downfall of the one with the destruction of the other. Indeed, it is our system of government, *in its essence* and not in its *application* to the Union, that the writer pronounces a failure. That we may do him no injustice, we will permit him to state his position in his own language:

"The nature of our government is such as to render it short-lived. Our government is a representative democracy. It locates the sovereign power in the people, and follows their dictation as a matter not only of expediency, but also of right. Our legislature is but the formal expression of the predilections of the hour, and fluctuates with the rise and fall of the popular passions or the ascendancy of this or that popular interest. Even our organic laws have no higher security than the continued approval of the ruling. Hence the majority must construct and reconstruct * * * *that the aggregate virtue of the citizens is not more here than the virtue of the prince*, and that this high standard of capacity is reached and maintained with more difficulty on the part of the whole people than on the part of the representatives of a *line of sovereigns*, that the wisdom of the king is more reasonably to be expected than that of the mob, need only be asserted. * * * Again, our form of government invests no individual or line with permanent responsibility. * * * We have no hereditary monarchy, in which the fidelity of the ruler is guaranteed by his regard for his children's throne."

The plain import and design of this language is clearly, to express the conviction that our federative and representative system of government is a failure—that the rule of the prince and sway of the monarch are preferable, to a government of the people!—and that, like the prodigal son in the sacred parable, the day is not far distant when the truant young Jonathan of America, who, for the last seventy-five years of his life, has been living upon the husks of imaginary liberty, will have to repent his rash and foolish experiment and arise and return to his father, John Bull, and enter again into his household!—an opinion which we respectfully think inconsistent with sound reasoning, and at variance with all the knowledge which the lights of history and experience shed upon the subject. That our National Union may prove a failure, and pass away like the ephemeral republics of antiquity, we think highly probable; but that our beautiful and harmonious system of government will ever prove illusory, or cease to be the shrine upon which the votaries of liberty, from every clime and country, will most delight to pour their richest libations, it is impossible to believe. We know it has been the policy of some and the patriotism of others, to believe the Union and Republican liberty synonymous terms. But with all our reverence for the former, we have never been of such belief ourselves. It may have been so in the days of the revolution and for some years subsequent, when we were all a slave-holding people, and sectional strife and discord had no place in our politics; but it is not true now, nor has it been for years past, the outside pressure of that period—menaced as we were by hordes of savages on the one hand, and invaded by a powerful enemy on the other—held the States together in spite of themselves. It was a centripetal power which no internal force could resist; but with the necessities of the revolution passed away, in the opinion of many of the wisest and best, the vital spark of the National Union—the cohe-

sive power was then removed, and the two grand sections of our country have each, ever since, played to its separate and diverse magnets.

If, then, the Union shall be dissolved, what will dissolve it? The ignorance or demoralization of the people? The loss of the spirit of public liberty? The weakness or inefficiency of the administration of the laws of the land? Confusion or anarchy in the States? The triumph of the military over the civil power of the country? Private or public luxury? We undertake to say that such a catastrophe will not be traceable to any of these causes, some or all of which have occasioned the downfall of ancient democracies and governments of the Old World. The intelligence of the people was never greater in any country, or any time, than it is in our own; the love of liberty was never stronger; the fires of patriotism never burned brighter; the military was never in more complete subjection to the civil power; property was never more secure; peace and prosperity were never greater in the States; virtue never held in higher esteem, and the triumphs of the gospel never greater. The dissolution of the Union, therefore, if it ever comes, will be the necessary fruit of sectional strife and discord arising from sectional differences, which are, in their nature, peculiar and irreconcilable. And what will a dissolution of the Union prove? Will it prove the failure of our federative and representative system of government? By no means, any more than the occasional divorce or separation of man and wife proves the failure of the institution of marriage. Both argue simply an incompatibility between the parties to the particular relation, and not any defect, inherent or otherwise, in the relation itself. As divorce in the marriage relation is caused, and sometimes justified, upon the ground that there is wanting that identity of interest, temper, character, and condition, which render its perpetuation a gross wrong and intolerable nuisance to one or both of the parties, so the divorce of the North and the South will only prove the existence of similar discordant elements, producing the alike result. Government, like marriage, is an entity—a tangible thing, and cannot be proven a failure or a curse because it does not happen to set handsomely upon all of its subjects. A dissolution of the Union would be no evidence of a defective or inefficient governmental system, but of an impracticable application of that system. In short, it will simply prove what common sense and experience teach us—that two or more separate and diverse social organisms, such as free and slave society, can never exist long and quietly together, under the same form of government; but, like the ancient patriarchs, each must take his part of the spoils and separate. We

may all wish it were otherwise—but we must look at facts as they are, and not as we would sometimes have them to be.

From these considerations we think it clear that there is a very marked distinction to be drawn between our *system* of government and the Union over which it operates; and we are not less clear in our convictions, that the former will survive the dissolution of the latter with the same certainty and individuality as that the soul of man will, in the hour of dissolution, survive its perishing encasement of clay. The one may or may not, be permanent, as the changing circumstances of time may determine; but the other is, in its nature immortal, in so far as that term is applicable to the things of time. In that great day

"When earth's cities shall have no sound nor tread,
And ships are drifting with the dead
To shores," &c., &c.

and where the monarchies, and aristocracies, and tyrannies of the Old World shall have perished from their own corruptions and debaucheries. Our system of representative government will, in our opinion, cover the earth in all its pristine vigor and harmonious proportions. Were this Union dissolved to-morrow, each State composing it would retain its peculiar system of local laws and administration, under which the rights of property and the liberty of the citizen have been more secure than under any system of government since the world began. The Southern States would immediately assemble together in a general convention, and give a new application of our federative system of government, specially adopted to themselves. We doubt whether there would be a single material alteration in our present Federal Constitution! Some of its provisions, which are of questionable construction and doubtful meaning, might be made more definite and explicit—a different system of taxation might be adopted—the African slave-trade might be re-opened—but, further than this, the instrument would remain essentially the same as it now is. The Northern States would, doubtless, come together upon a similar basis; but, probably, with more difficulty, alterations, and additions. And, thus, would the two great opposing sections of our Union—all-powerful in their own peculiar system of society—move on in the march of improvement under alike forms of government. The idea of civil war and strife between the two sections is simply ridiculous. It is full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. It may serve to alarm the timid and furnish a theme for some designing demagogues, but it can have no terrors for sensible and reflecting men, and is a libel upon our people and civilization. The South would certainly have no motive to make

war upon the North, and the North would have too much sense not to know that she would have everything to lose and nothing to gain by a war upon the South. She could not hope to conquer us and force upon us again the Union; and, if she were to succeed in such an impossible undertaking, her object would be defeated, because we would no longer be a *free* but a *subjugated* people—a despotism instead of a representative republic. Our union would no longer be the Union it now is. A dissolution of the Union would remove all motive as well as all occasion for civil strife and bloodshed. The enemies of slavery would no longer feel themselves responsible for the sin and odium which they represent to be attached to slavery, while the Southern people would no longer feel themselves agrieved and insulted, by the unwarrantable aggressions and insults to which they have been for years subjected, at the hands of a violent Northern majority. Like two fighting curs when pitched into a stream, each would strike for the shore in his own direction, forgetting their past differences, and the cause of them.

But suppose we concede that a dissolution of the Union would be the failure of our system of government; that it would strike from the political firmament the sun of liberty, and the world again be shrouded in the gloom of universal despotism, in what respect would we be benefited by an exchange of our system for a monarchy? Would it prevent the dreaded catastrophe of a dissolution of the Union? If the Union is really to be dissolved, monarchy could only save it in one of two ways, namely: either by *force*—in which case we should have a military despotism—or by *abolishing slavery* in the Southern States, in violation of the wishes and rights of the people, in which event we should have an intolerable invasion of the right of private property. Would a union upon such terms as these be tolerated by the people of this country? Is there a spirit in the land so craven as to desire it? We think not, and are confident our author would indignantly reject a union upon such degrading terms.

We shall not protract these pages by seriously undertaking a refutation of the author's reflections in support of a monarchy over a republican form of government. It were a task of supererogation for us to do so. Besides, it were needless. We had thought the school of political philosophers of which Burke and Paley and Blackstone constituted the tutelary deities, in a past century, had long since become extinct outside of the immediate shadow and corrupting influences of the kingly despotisms of Europe. We had thought that the specious theories concerning the "*divine right of kings*," no longer had their disciples and apologists, except with those

personally interested in establishing a dogma which enables the lordly few to ride booted and spurred over the mass of God's people. If we have been mistaken in this belief, we do not certainly envy the republican of this country and age who can forget, in the contemplation of the "virtues of a Titus or an Antonine, the fires of a Nero and the butcheries of a Domitian."

Our author does not tell us whether he favors an absolute or a constitutional monarchy—an hereditary or an elective prince—but clearly leaves us to infer that his preferences, in both cases, are for the former. What infatuation! But his reasoning can deceive no one. With all respect we must say, that he has not only built his castle in the air, but he has utterly failed to impart to it a single attractive feature or substantial timber. He has displayed neither the skill of the architect nor the imagination of the painter. He has not only stated bad positions, but he sustains them with much worse logic. So far from presenting us with new arguments, he does not give us the strength of the old and *effete* ones. The advantages which have been claimed for monarchy by its leading advocates have been summed up by one of its greatest admirers and strongest apologists to consist in "unity of council, activity, decision, secrecy, dispatch; the military strength and energy which result from these qualities of government; the exclusion of popular and aristocratical contentions; the preventing by a known rule of succession of all competition for the supreme power, and thereby repressing the hopes, intrigues, and dangerous ambition of aspiring citizens." These are the boasted advantages of monarchy, as aggregated by Paley, and what a tissue of false assumptions! Every page of English history gives the lie to such pretensions. Since William the Conqueror (who was himself a usurper) established his throne in England, there have not been less than eight civil wars and nine rebellions, all of which had their origin in the rivalry of contending factions! There is scarcely a throne in Europe which was not at some time or other established in innocent blood, and maintained by wrong and oppression! Their "unity of council" has consisted in the arbitrary will of the despot, and their "activity, decision, and secrecy" have been that of the assassin and inquisition. But Paley himself is candid enough to present the counterpart of monarchy, and we think it far more than balances all the boasted advantages of that system of government, conceding it to possess all the merit claimed for it. "The dangers of monarchy (says he) are tyranny, expense, exaction, military dominion; unnecessary wars, waged to gratify the passions of an individual, and the risk of the

reigning prince." This picture of monarchy, though sufficiently dark, we should think, to deter men from preferring it, is not so dark as it is presented upon the unvarnished pages of history. For every virtuous prince we have examples of an hundred ambitious, licentious, tyrannical, avaricious, and unprincipled ones, who have been the ruin and terror of their people, and a curse to the world.

On the other hand, Mr. Paley is candid enough to admit that the advantages of a *republic* "are *liberty* or exemption from needless restrictions, equal laws, regulations adapted to the wants and circumstances of the people, public spirit, frugality, averseness to war, and the opportunities which it affords for the development of the faculties of its best citizens"—(we quote from memory.) And Blackstone admits that "*democracies are best calculated to promote the ends of laws*;" and he might have added that, as the end of laws ought to be good government, democracies are also the best *makers* of that which they can best *administer*.

The dogma asserted by our author, "that the aggregate virtue of the citizens is not more pure than the virtue of the prince," might be readily conceded without strengthening his position in the least particular, but it is not supported either by history or reason; for in the very nature of monarchy, it is impossible for either a wise or a virtuous prince to be always on the throne. There is a wheel in the affairs of kings, as well as of individuals, which, continually revolving, does not permit any one class or individual to be always uppermost. Princes are neither chosen for their merits, nor discarded for their vices. A baby, therefore, is just as apt to turn up king as an adult—a knave and fool as the wise and the good. On the other hand, in a republic, the people may always have wise rulers in at least a large majority of the departments of government; and if they chance to make an unwise selection, they have the power and the will to displace him at stated periods, and before any serious harm can result to the State. If the opposite argument of our author be a good one, why does he not extend his theory to the extent of abolishing the jury system? Is not the virtue of the judge, (or the prince,) superior to the aggregate virtue of twelve men, chosen at random from the ignorant "mob"—the people? If the logic is good in the one case, it is irresistible in the other. But candor compels us to say it is bad in both. It would destroy all sorts of government, except absolute despotism, where the will of one man is the law to all. It would banish liberty and all its concomitant blessings and advantages from the earth. It would disgrace human nature and dishonor God.

It may be true, as claimed by our author, that "our form

of government invests no individual or line with permanent responsibility," and we thank God it does not. That "permanent" prerogative has been wisely reserved to the people themselves, and they always feel their "responsibility," and are competent to the great destiny it imposes. But it is by no means true that such "permanent responsibility" on the part of rulers, is either desirable or necessary to good government. Our patriotic and wise fathers thought and acted differently, and experience and reason confirm the superior wisdom of their judgment. Nor are we sure that where such a "permanent responsibility" exist does it insure the vaunted stability in administrations. The opinions and policy of individuals undergo more frequent change than the opinions of the masses of men; because the former are frequently influenced by unworthy motives, while the people are never. The defeat of a British Ministry not unfrequently changes the whole policy of the Government. The death of Napoleon III., at this moment, would convulse the whole of Europe with thunders of revolution, and change, perhaps, the whole current of foreign politics and society. Any measure of improvement, reform, or progress, will be more consistently and firmly sustained by the people than by a "line" of kings; and that which has the mature sanction and support of the people is almost certain to be sanctioned and accomplished by their representatives.

But we have not time to pursue our author further. In conclusion of these pages, we would most respectfully invite his attention to the eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel, where he may learn a most valuable and instructive lesson from a source the best of all capable of giving lessons in truth to those who are wandering in the labyrinthian snares of error.

R. H. G.

LYNCHBURG, Va.

THE COTTON FIELDS OF ARIZONA TERRITORY.

WE extract the following from an article in the Washington States:

"Very few, except those who have read Maj. A. B. Gray's report of an exploration of the Gadsden purchase, are aware that it possesses agricultural advantages. Cotton of the finest quality may be raised there.

"We have before us a specimen of the cotton raised by Gen. Gadsden from Arizona seed, and which was sent by him to Lieut. Maury. It is exceedingly beautiful and silky in texture.

"General Gadsden, in a letter to Lieut. Maury, enclosing a sample of cotton, says: 'You are aware, perhaps, that the black-seed cotton—hybrids of finer qualities which sea or salt air and superior cultivation has produced, in the Carolinas, Georgia islands, and now extending to Florida—is a native of the Gila, a river of Arizona.

"It is from this cotton that the finest Mexican scropes are manufactured. I was fortunate enough to obtain a handful of the seed from a friend at Fort Yuma, and have raised seed enough from it to restore it purely in this State. As these lower qualities of long cottons are getting it in demand, I send enclosed a sample of the cotton as raised near this city, as it might be of interest to you and the friends of that newly acquired district, seeking to take a place in the cotton-fields as well as silver products of that mineral region.'

"The sample of cotton given us by Lieutenant Maury, is that described by Gray and others, raised by the Pimos Indians, and resembles the Sea Island in its fine, silky texture, and long staple.

"If Arizona is to furnish us with cotton-fields capable of producing such a material as this, it will be an additional inducement to Southern people to occupy it."

SOUTHERN SLAVE LIFE.

We are indebted to R. F. W. Allston, the present Governor of South Carolina, for a copy of the following letter, addressed to him by Dr. R. W. Gibbes, one of the most intelligent physicians of the South, and a gentleman of the highest personal character and consideration. To the letter we append some notes relating to the details of management on a rice estate, prepared by the son of Governor Allston, who is known as a large and experienced planter. The whole correspondence was elicited by certain queries propounded by Governor Cobb, of Alabama.—EDITOR.

COLUMBIA, *March 6, 1858.*

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:

You ask my experience in relation to the economy and medical management of the plantations in the neighborhood of Columbia. I commenced attendance in 1833 on the plantations of Col. Wade Hampton, and soon after those of Col. Richard Singleton, Maj. Thos. Taylor, B. F. Taylor, Esq. and others, and for many years had several thousand negroes under my care. I can, therefore, speak with fair knowledge of their treatment by our prominent planters.

On every plantation the sick nurse, or doctor woman, is usually the most intelligent female on the place; and she has full authority under the physician, over the sick. The overseer sends her to all cases and she reports to him; if the cases

are slight, he or she (oftener she) prescribes for them—if they are at all serious, the physician is sent for, and at any hour of the night. Often have I ridden twelve or fifteen miles on a cold and rainy night to an infant, or even to an old and useless negro, when they have been considered in danger. When there are many sick, the physician sent for to any serious case is usually asked to see all that are complaining; and where there are several nurses needed additional provision is always made.

If a husband is seriously sick, or a child, the wife or mother remains in the house to attend to their wants; or if the wife is ill, the husband is allowed to be with her. Whenever the physician finds that the nurse is inattentive or inefficient, he selects the most intelligent young woman to supply her place, and trains her for the succession. Often have I done this, which every planter knows it is his interest to approve, and found the confidence well repaid. The necessity of having an intelligent nurse, and one in whom reliance can be placed is very important; as on her firmness in discharge of her duty depends much of the success of medical treatment. Negroes are generally fatalists, and believe that every one has his time appointed to die, and if it be "come" they expect to die; and, if not, they will get well without medicine. Often have I found them under conviction that they were to die, and resisting medicine as useless, or fancying under pressing symptoms that they would recover without taking any—and imperative treatment, depending on the faithfulness of the nurse, absolutely required to be rigidly enforced. Frequently have I found the patient's bed turned from its position of the day before, in order that he might die "with his face towards the rising sun," and often have I had it restored and informed them that their "time had not come to go home," as they call it. This is essential to relieve the mind from the depressing influence of the expectation of death, and to procure the inspiring advantage of hope which cheers the heart and exerts important curative effects. An intelligent nurse soon learns to appreciate the necessity of her authority, and to exercise it.

On all the plantations that I have attended, I have always directed any diet that might be needed; which if not immediately procurable is sent for to Columbia. Brandy or wine is constantly demanded, and if not on the place is procured by my order wherever I please and charged to the owner. Often have I known Col. Hampton send to a sick negro, Sherry or Madeira of a quality seldom found on sale—he dispensed it liberally when required. In relation to my lamented friend, I may be allowed to say, that he once received a letter from a young physician offering to reside on his planta

tions, for a moderate salary, to attend to his people—his reply to him was, that his own family physician must be the physician to them. This is general.

In the hygiene of the plantations there is much cleanliness required, and the houses are whitewashed and abundantly supplied with wood in cold weather. Several teams are constantly employed on the large plantations to supply fuel, as negroes bear cold badly. The risk of fire, especially with children, induces the use generally of woollen clothing; but in summer cotton osnaburgs is the material mostly supplied. Where *pneumonia*, the most fatal of all diseases among negroes, is apt to prevail, flannel shirts are frequently distributed, and woollen stockings to the females. Experience shows that their use, with good blankets and abundant fuel, are the best means of diminishing the prevalence of this disease on the river swamp plantations, were it is usually seen in its worst form.

There is no class of working people in the world better cared for than the Southern slave—and in childhood or old age there is no difference shown. I have often received a large fee for a surgical operation on a superannuated or useless negro, when humanity dictated it to relieve suffering, or for the removal of cataract to allow old age the precious privilege of a restoration to sight. I have seen the mistress give the same attention habitually to the sick negro child as to her own, and sit up all night to see that it was not neglected. This however is not confined to the plantations, but may be seen at any time in our villages and towns.

Within the past fifteen years, religious services have been introduced generally on the plantations in this district, and in many instances the owners of plantations have engaged the stated services of ministers of the gospel to preach and give instruction to their people. It is very common for the young ladies of the household to have classes on Sunday of the children as well as grown negroes, to whom they give oral instruction, texts of scripture, and hymns.

The kindness in sickness in seeing after the comforts of these dependant beings, causes a strong attachment from early childhood towards their masters and mistresses; and this grows with their growth and strengthens with their strength. Sickness of the latter, or any members of the family, is as much a source of solicitude and distress to the former as among their own families; and death is a greater grief to them, as they rarely mourn the loss of their own children, while their sense of submission from childhood to their earthly master no doubt practically influences that to the providence of God they feel the privation of comforts that the master or mistress dispen-

ses. I have seen far greater exhibition of real feeling at the loss of a young master or mistress, than at the loss of members of their own family.

As to another branch of medical treatment. A working woman who goes into a lying-in hospital in Europe for her confinement, is usually dismissed on the eighth day—on our plantations one month is allowed before any service is required, and then the mother returns to the quarters several times during the day to suckle the infant, which is left in the care of an elderly nurse, who has others to take care of. When the child is two or three months old it is carried into the field to the mother, by the child nurse—the children from seven to twelve or thirteen years, being used as nurses. When negroes are in weakly health, they sometimes make good shepherds; or recovering from sickness, they usually are put at some light service, such as shucking and shelling corn, making clothes, or spinning, &c., until well enough for field work, and in wet and bad weather they are given some in-door occupation.

In addition to the regular allowance of bacon, meal, and molasses, with at some seasons potatoes, all who are disposed to be industrious have gardens, and poultry, which are sources of comforts as well as of profit. Eggs and chickens are supplied by them in large numbers to their owners, who pay them their full value, or to neighbors. I have recently purchased two hundred and fifty bushels of corn from the negroes of one plantation in my care, and the overseer has just informed me that there is as much more for me. I have known a single negro receive one hundred and twenty dollars for his year's crop of corn and fodder, raised by his own labor, when his own task had been done.

I have written you rather a discursive letter, *currente calamo*, but trust it will give you an idea of the treatment on our Congaree.

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT W. GIBBES, M. D.

Gov. R. F. W. ALLSTON.

NOTES ON THE MANAGEMENT OF A SOUTHERN RICE ESTATE.

LABOR.—Each full hand (grown person) is required to turn or dig up one quarter of an acre of swamp land (rice land) per day. In cutting ditches, the task is 600 feet, and is arrived at thus: multiplying the width by the depth and this by the number, which will amount to 600 feet; this number will be the length that each man will have to cut.* In listing land each negro will do

* The following account is from one of the first rice planters in the State:

In difficult ditching, when a cypress stump comes across the track of the ditch, (as is frequently the case, often not within a foot of the surface,) the earth is

half an acre; in bedding land three-eighths of an acre; in trenching land for rice each man will trench three-quarters of an acre, which will contain 180 rows; the women who sow will plant one-and-a-half acre; in hoeing rice, corn, or potatoes, each negro will do one-half acre if the land is in good order. All these tasks are light; and the negroes who industriously work from the time they go out, which is always after sunrise in the winter months, will finish their tasks and return to their houses between three and four o'clock.

Food.—Of breadstuff they get a peck of corn or ten quarts of grist, (the corn is often ground for them,) occasionally they get one half allowance of small rice or potatoes or peas, so they have some variety in their breadstuffs. Every week is given either meat, salt fish, or molasses, about one to three pounds of pork or bacon, as they may require, or two of salt fish, or one quart of molasses to each grown negro.

A large pot of meat and rice is usually cooked twice a week for the children. Living on the tide-water, near the salt, with access to the sea, fish of various kinds are taken by them, and also oysters.

Clothing.—Six yards of Welch plains, thread, and needles, and buttons in winter, and seven yards of osnaburghs in summer; also six yards of homespun shirting to each grown negro—to the children, quantity in proportion to size; hats or caps are also given to the men, and handkerchiefs to the women, often to the chief men also. A blanket to each negro every third year, so that in a family they receive one or more blankets every year. At certain seasons flannel shirts are also given, especially to those who are boat hands, and are oftener exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and night air.

Housing.—Every family is provided with a house consisting of a hall with a fire place, and two or more chambers or dormitories, as they may require. The houses are generally built in village form, in the pine woods or sand hills, a little removed from the river side, and are built of boards upon under-pinnings about two feet high, so that the air can circulate freely under them, and that no filth may collect under them. They are required to be kept clean, and are whitewashed as often as needed. A house is also set apart for the small children, who are placed in charge of an elderly woman, who is careful, to attend to their wants. A sick-house, is also provided, which is under the charge of a nurse, who has no other duty to perform but to attend to the sick of all sexes and classes. Here the sick who are single, or those who have a protracted illness are placed, to be under the more immediate care of the sick nurse.

MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.—Every case of sickness is reported to the overseer by the nurse, and if it is at all serious, a physician is at once sent for, who attends to them carefully, furnishing every thing requisite to the case. There is always one physician who attends the master's immediate family as well as his people. (For more full information see Dr. Gibbes' letter herewith sent.)

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.—A minister of the Gospel, Methodist or Episcopalian or other, as the case may be, visits a plantation once a fortnight, giving lessons in catechism to the children, and preaching to the grown negroes. Numbers of them have joined the church, and to the best of their opportunity and ability practice a christian life. There are many communicants, and it is stated that

excavated, and the ditch finished up to the stump, square on each side, by the task hand; after which, the work of cutting and excavating the stump is assigned to the two leading axemen, who, taking their time, without any task, cut the ditch through as smooth as can be required to the desired depth. It is no uncommon thing for two hands every winter to be engaged week after week, (two, three, and four days at one stump,) in this way without any supervision. The distinction is one of much emulation, and stimulates all hands to accurate work. They get one pound of pork or two of beef per week, as they are on the tide-water, and take fish in the fresh water almost daily, and from the salt-water occasionally, besides raising chickens, ducks, and eggs in great abundance. They raise pigs, too, for the plantation use, by which they profit personally, in proportion to their attention and success; and all who are diligent enough have good gardens.

there are more converts among the negroes of the South than all the other missions of the heathen can boast of.

Chapels are provided on several places, where they hold their service, thus affording them a place for the worship of God at home, besides the churches and public places of worship in the country, where they are at liberty to go. On one plantation the communion is administered to fifty-three—about one-half of the grown persons on the place.

OUR NEIGHBORS—MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA.

The following table exhibits our imports to and exports from Mexico and South America in the periods named:

	Exports.	Imports.	Am. tonnage.
1848.....	\$10,812,143	\$14,226,721	152,698
1851.....	13,030,627	22,782,980	239,405
1856.....	18,490,528	35,059,580	181,161

From 1848 to 1851 the changes in our commerce with the States above named, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Tonnage.
Increase.....	\$2,228,484	\$18,552,258	85,712

From 1851 to 1856 the changes were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Tonnage.
Increase.....	\$5,449,901	\$12,375,600	
Decrease in tonnage.....			58,244

When we examine the vast space of country occupied by the South American States, we are struck with the paucity of its population, which contains only about 16,314,390, or only about 2.41 to the square mile; while Belgium, the most populous country in Europe, contains 388.60 to the square mile; Holland 259, and England 332; Switzerland 160; Turkey in Europe 73.60; Russia in Europe 28. The least densely populated States of Europe are Sweden and Norway, which contain 15.83 to the square mile. Prussia contains 150; Austria 140; Denmark 101.92; France 172.74; Portugal 95.44, and Spain 78.03. The average population for all Europe is said to be about 63.1 to the square mile. The average density of population of the New England States in North America is 41.94; of the Middle States, 57.79; Southern States, 15.27; and States in the valley of the Mississippi and east of that river, 24.71; Atlantic slope, east of the Alleghanies, 20. The total average for the whole of the United States in 1840, before the expansion of our territorial possessions on the Pacific, was 9.55, and in 1850, 7.90 to the square mile.

If we assume that the 7,124,357 square miles of the whole country south of the United States to Cape Horn, had a population to the square mile equal to that of all the States and Territories of the United States, at the present time, of about eight to the square mile, they would give a population of about

56,994,856. If they contained the number of people to the square mile of the Atlantic States, viz: 20 to the square mile, they would contain a population of about 142,487,140. If as populous as New England, or had 42 to the square mile, they would contain a population of 299,222,894. If as densely populated as Europe, or contained 63 to the square mile, they would possess a population of 448,824,491. If as populous as France, they would contain 641,122,130; and if as populous as England, or had 332 to the square mile, they would contain the enormous population of 2,365,286,624. Contrast these comparisons with the fact that all South America, at the present time, only contains about 2.41 to the square mile, and we can imagine what a vast gap remains to be filled up. And when we contrast the intellectual and physical energy of the European races and their descendants with the present scattered and feeble inhabitants of South America, it is easy to foresee from whence the supplies to fill the vacuum are to be drawn.

Europe, which is only one-fifth the size of North and South America, contains a population of 232,677,909. This continent, North and South, which only contains about 54,000,000, if as densely peopled as Europe, would contain a population, exclusive of the Russian Possessions, as follows:

	<i>Square Miles.</i>	<i>Population by density of Europe, 63 to the square mile.</i>
United States.....	2,936,166	184,978,458
Canada.....	205,860	12,969,780
Mexico, Central and South America.....	7,124,357	448,824,491
Total.....	10,266,333	646,772,728

As the English is the irrevocably established language of the North American States, and ultimately must be spoken by their future 185,000,000 of inhabitants, it is fair to conclude that it will also ultimately be spoken, to a large extent, by the future millions to people South America. The time may come when over 400,000,000 on this continent will speak the English language.

The paucity of the population in the South American States at the present time, is not more remarkable than the meagre and unequal commerce carried on between them and the United States. Though occupying a part of the same continent, our commerce, in the aggregate, in value stands only one-third on the list. England monopolizes from 50 to 60 per cent. of the whole, while the commerce of France stands next to England, and we come next to her.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION FORMERLY AND NOW.

CANNELTON, MD., *March 12, 1858.*

J. D. B. DE BOW, Esq.—You have been a close observer of the emigration from Europe, to the United States, and cannot have failed to notice great changes in its character during the last few years. When we needed domestic servants in our towns and cities, and spade-men to construct our canals and railroads, Ireland furnished the full supply. The potato rot in Great Britain, and in portions of the continent the failure of the grape crops, in parts of France and Germany, with the inducements held out in this valley for agricultural labor, attracted to us hundreds of thousands of small farmers and farm laborers; now, when we require operatives in the gardens, the mines, and the work-shops, and in latitudes that yield products, similar to those cultivated in Central Europe, we are drawing our supply from the Rhine and its neighborhood. This supply seems to be inexhaustible. Fully one-half of the population of Cincinnati and St. Louis is from this source. In Evansville, a decided majority of the citizens are native Rhinelanders, or their descendants. It is fortunate for us that this change has taken place. The Irishman rarely works on his own account, if he can get employment from another. The German, on the contrary, rarely labors for another, if he can establish an independent business of his own. This peculiarity is now leading to some unlooked-for results in the movement of population and industry on the Ohio.

The first German emigrants scattered over every section of the West, wherever immediate employment could be had with cheap homes in prospect. Scores of thousands were sent by contract, from New York and New Orleans agencies, to Western land speculators—one of the Northwestern States, had a salaried agent in New York, to direct the tide of emigration to her territory.

The lot-holders of Cincinnati, as was said, then circulated throughout Germany a map of the United States, in which every route of travel, laid down on this valley, terminated at that city, with directions to save money by purchasing "through tickets."

Within the last few years, however, our physical geography has become as well known in Germany, as among ourselves. There are very few, even among the poorer class of Germans, who cannot read and write—letters from the first emigrants, have enabled their countrymen at home, to collect and compare all the facts which should guide them in making the most judicious selection of homes here. The German, Belgium, and Swiss manufacturers, now send their goods, intended for this market, directing to the points of consumption, instead of to London, New York, and other large depots; and there is now scarce a respectable book-store, on the lines of travel from Havre and the Hague to the interior of Prussia and Austria, where accurate maps and statistics of this country cannot be found. The old frauds of emigration agents are now understood, and the business has now, to a great extent, passed into the hands of more intelligent and reliable parties.

The numerous newspapers now printed in the German language, in this country, and which are circulated widely at home and abroad, have largely discussed every important fact connected with their emigration movements.

A few years ago, several limited plans of colonization were adopted by Germans at Cincinnati, and the resulting settlements at Guttenburg and elsewhere, tested the efficiency of even a partial and imperfect organization. After a pretty full discussion of different schemes, the leading Swiss and Germans, of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, formed an association, under the name of "the Swiss Colonization Society." The objects stated in the programme, were cheap homesteads for poor mechanics, small manufacturers, gardeners and traders, at the most desirable location attainable by their aggregate means. The shares were limited to 8,000, and no one was allowed to take over two shares. These shares were to be entitled to two lots of the territory to be purchased; the managers were to allot the shares, receive the price, (\$15 each,) select, purchase, and divide the lands, when their offices, and the whole organization, was to cease. Branches of this association, were immediately formed in all the larger Western cities, and the shares were at once taken up. After sending engineers and committees to every point offered, and recommended, the managers have purchased four or five thousand acres on the Ohio river, and adjacent this town. This tract has already been partially laid off in suitable lots, and has been christened "*Tell City*." The share-holders are coming in as fast as accommodations can be prepared for them—several mills are building and a number of manufacturing associations are preparing for operations. During the present year, several hundred families will be on the ground, and by the close of next year, the place will doubtless show what German thrift, economy, and industry, can accomplish. The site selected is admirably adapted for the purposes in view. Its front gives a harbor equal to any on the river, it has the best of building materials in abundance, and our coal beds, will always furnish a certain and cheap supply of fuel and motive power. There is wealth and intelligence enough among the members of this association, to put up and operate manufactories of the largest class; but for some years, as is supposed, their efforts will be directed towards the establishment of those branches of industry, which require but a limited capital; which can be set a going at once, and in which labor will be the chief element of the product. They will look chiefly to the South, for a market for their fabrics, and they will have every advantage, in cheap lots, cheap materials, and cheap heat and power, for taking this market from competitors above them, on the Ohio.

The most interesting aspect of this movement, and especially to our cotton planting friends, is this: The selection of the Ohio, by this association, will have a very strong influence in directing the stream of German and Swiss emigration hitherward. Mechanical and manufacturing labor will here be ample for any call upon it, and whenever the surplus capital of the South is ready for investment in mills, to work up the great staple of the South, there will be found here a full supply of the proper labor and skill.

Did you ever consider what an insignificant (I mean insignificant when measured by results) amount of cash capital would be required here to put in motion machinery enough to work up two-thirds of all the cotton grown between us and the gulf. *Fifty millions of dollars* would be ample. The proceeds of only one-third of the cotton crop for a single year. It would require less labor to put up this machinery than has been expended in making the stone-fences of Massachusetts. According to McCulloch, the whole of the fixed capital invested in Great Britain, in cotton-mills, ware-houses, and material, in the process of conversion, is estimated at only twenty millions of pounds sterling. This is only about one-tenth of the cost of the railroads in the United States. What a pity it is that we have not the cotton factories in lieu of the last 2,000 miles of road—we should, in that case, have need of fewer imports, and our export values would be more than twice what they now are.

The introduction of Flemish weavers into England, was the commencement of the manufacturing industry of Great Britain. That this influx of the Rhinelanders to our neighborhood may be attended with like results, is more than probable.

Yours, truly,

S.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

ITS AGRICULTURAL ADVANTAGES, CLIMATE, AND INDUCEMENTS TO EMIGRANTS.

The agricultural advantages possessed by Washington Territory are very great. Although it is emphatically a mountainous country, yet it contains within its borders great prairies and rich grazing lands, which would afford nutriment to countless flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, or would richly repay the agriculturist who should open them to the various productions of the earth.

West of the Cascade mountains there is as large an amount of arable land as in the State of New York. The Walla-Walla valley, situated mostly in the Territory of Washington, surpasses in extent, advantages, climate, and soil, that of the great Salt Lake, and can subsist a much larger population. West of the Bitter Root mountains, for a hundred miles in breadth, the soil is not only good, but equal to the western prairies. The remainder of the interior is not only a good grazing country, well adapted to the growing of wool as well as the raising of stock, but large tracts included in the Yakima purchase are unsurpassed for roots and cereals.

Fine bodies of rich lands have been explored in the valley of the Chehalis river, which falls into the Pacific at Gray's harbor.

The bottom lands of the Nesqually, Puyallup, Snohomish, White, and Green rivers, the waters of all which disembogue in Puget Sound, are broad, rich, and of the most fertile quality, but densely timbered. East of the Cascades, and upon the Columbia river and its northern tributaries, are large bodies of excellent lands. The Cowlitz river, running southwardly, and falling into the Columbia, also drains fertile

lands, and has many of the oldest settlers in the Territory among its prosperous farmers. All cereal grains, except Indian corn, flourish admirably here, the wheat in particular being of excellent quality, and yielding abundantly.

There is no State or Territory in the Union that surpasses Washington Territory for the extent of its water power. By reference to a map of the Territory it will be seen that the whole country is traversed by streams of various sizes, which, like veins, extend themselves in every direction. On almost all these streams may be found water power of various capacities. Some of the more important streams may be found near Olympia, back of Seattle, at Whatcom, at the falls of the Snoqualmie, in Bellingham's bay, near Steilacoom, and at Gray's river, which empties into the Columbia, where sufficient power for the largest description of mills and factories can be obtained, while the numerous smaller streams furnish ready and sufficient power for saw or grist mills.

With the exception of the prairies and rich bottom lands already alluded to, the whole of Washington Territory is covered with a dense forest of gigantic timber, of which by far the greatest proportion is spruce, fir, hemlock, and cedar. In the interior the pine is found, and upon the Columbia and around Puget Sound the oak, ash, maple, and cotton wood are in abundance. The readiness with which all this variety of timber can be placed in the various streams, either to be floated to the mills for sawing, or to the shipping, to be transported to foreign ports, renders Washington Territory pre-eminently a desirable location for the lumberman.

The climate of Washington Territory is far milder than in the same latitudes east of the Rocky mountains, and this remark applies to all the Pacific slope west of that great barrier. The cause is from the winds blowing almost constantly from the ocean; during the summer, from the west and northwest, and in winter from the south. The winter winds, coming from the tropics, are consequently warm, and during that period much rain falls; but though the latitude of Washington corresponds in other respects with Wisconsin, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, the ground is rarely covered with snow for more than three or four weeks in each year, and often remains unfrozen throughout the entire winter.

The winter at Puget Sound is warmer than Paris, the mean temperature at Olympia being 53° , and at Paris 38° ; and at the mouth of the Columbia it is warmer than in Philadelphia, the mean temperature at Astoria being 52° , and at Philadelphia 50° . The climate is peculiarly salubrious, no epidemics prevail, and, as a general thing, the white population of both Oregon and Washington are a remarkably healthy and energetic people. The cause of the great salubrity of climate may be attributed, in part, to the great forests of cedar, fir, and spruce, which have in all ages been considered as exerting a sanitary influence on the surrounding atmosphere.

The principal towns are Olympia, the seat of government, which is situated at the head of Puget Sound; and Vancouver, on the Columbia river. The one offers advantages to those desirous of operating in the region bordered by Fucas Straits and Puget Sound; and the other,

to those wishing to trade on the Columbia, or be in closer proximity to the citizens of Oregon.

Those wishing to embark in commerce or the fisheries can find excellent locations for planting colonies at Steilacoom, Seattle, Port Madison, Port Townsend, Bellingham's bay, Neah bay, Gray's harbor, and Shoal-water bay, and at the various settlements on the Columbia river.

At all those points real estate is held at reasonable rates, although labor of all kinds is high and in demand.

The country at the present time needs only men and means. Small capitalists in particular would find their investment yield profitable and and speedy returns, and the farmer, grazier, lumberman, mechanic, miner, merchant, or fisherman will find ample scope to pursue their several avocations.

Washington Territory is very rich in its mineral productions; great mines of coal have been opened and are successfully worked at Bellingham's bay; and coal may be found in various localities all over the Territory. The quarries of marble, of granite, and sandstone are inexhaustible; and in copper, iron, lead, and gold the Territory is second to no locality in the vastness of its deposits of those metals which are so necessary to man. Washington Territory is situated on the great highway of the road of nations, and has the most magnificent harbors and roadsteads either on the Atlantic or Pacific shore. Its coal, its fisheries, its lumber, its gold, its extensive and rich grazing lands, its genial climate, its manufacturing advantages, and its soil, which yields the most generous return to labor, present a combination of advantages second to no State or Territory of our common country.

The emigration to Washington Territory has been very much retarded by the late difficulties with the Indians; thousands of persons who had intended making that country their future home have either been diverted from their course to California or southern Oregon, or have not made the attempt to cross the mountains. Now that the Indian war is over, the tide of emigration will soon commence setting rapidly to the West; the wave of population has already reached the Red river of the north, and those regions east of the Rocky mountains that but yesterday were Territories, and to-day are populous States, not only furnish an evidence of the future of Washington Territory, but can add of their surplus population the material with which we shall build up cities and villages the vast region of our extreme north-west domain.

NEW ORLEANS, OPELOUSAS, AND WESTERN RAILROAD.

THE report of the Chief Engineer, G. W. R. Bayley, is able and interesting and full of striking suggestions. He very justly regards the Opelousas Railroad as the initial link in a vast chain of trunk and branches, extending westward and Pacificward. He says:

"I am more than ever convinced that you have acted wisely and judiciously in adopting this as your main line to Texas; in every respect it is superior to every other that has or can be proposed. Joining Texas, as it does, near the middle of her eastern boundary, it will connect New Orleans with the middle,

western, northern, and most populous portions of that great and rapidly growing State, to the best advantage. It is the shortest, most direct, and only feasible line to connect New Orleans with the future Pacific Railroad, and this in due time will be apparent to all. The Red River Valley, or the present terminus of the Alexandria Railroad on Bayou Boeuf, is distant from your line at Pine Prairie, but twenty (20) miles, and the falls of Red river at Alexandria, but thirty-seven (37) miles; thus securing in the future, by the construction of but twenty miles of branch road, a connection with the entire valley of Red river. Extensions up Red river, and northwards to Little Rock and St. Louis, must follow inevitably. One hundred and twenty-five miles from Whisk Chito, will connect you with the thriving and important city of Shreveport, and with the roads to terminate there.

"A branch road of one hundred and twenty miles, from New Orleans, on the Teche, running across in a due west direction the prairies of St. Martin, Vermillion and Calcasieu, to Madison, in Orange county, Texas, on the Sabine River, will connect you with the Galveston Bay and Sabine Railroad, terminating at Houston—the center of the grand system of railroads radiating to every part of Texas, to the Rio Grande, and to Mexico."

And, he continues:

"New Orleans is the natural importing center of the Mississippi Valley, and of all the country west of and remote from navigable streams emptying into the Mississippi. Experience has demonstrated that the great cost of railway transportation across the country from the Atlantic sea-board to and from the Western and Southwestern States, is fatal to such a trade—very few articles will bear the expense of such a transit. As water carriage is, and must ever be cheap, through the gulf, and up the Mississippi and its tributaries, New Orleans has an immense advantage over her rivals, and can, if she will, govern absolutely the whole commerce, import and export, of the entire valley of the Mississippi and country west of it.

The Opelousas Railroad must become the grand trunk by means of which New Orleans will supply all western and north-western Louisiana, all Texas, and the new States and Territories to be carved out of Texas, New Mexico, and Mexico; and by means of which she will receive in return the accumulated produce of this immense territory. Thirteen hundred miles of continuous railway, via San Antonio, the Rio Grande, Chihuahua, to Guymas, on the Gulf of California, through a rich and fertile country the entire distance, and one well and frequently supplied with never-failing streams, will connect New Orleans with the Pacific.

MOBILE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

	Total Earnings. 1857.	Miles in operation.	Total Earnings. 1856.	Miles in operation.
January.....	55056 36	197½	24438 16	153
February.....	38034 36	"	28503 17	162½
March.....	38221 27	"	30317 24	"
April.....	48975 50	"	28587 31	176
May.....	25720 09	"	15251 36	"
June.....	22774 45	"	20226 47	188
July.....	23176 62	"	17804 78	197
August.....	23206 56	"	25622 19	"
September.....	43211 79	205½	42422 88	"
October.....	74410 64	210½	73061 56	"
November.....	76615 05	218½	56962 45	"
December.....	84979 64	223½	59753 74	"
Total.....	554382 34		407951 31	

From the last annual report, we learn that to make the very heavy investment of the Company available, and bring the whole road into profitable operation from Mobile to the Mississippi river at Columbus, Ky., and by its inter-

section with the Memphis and Charleston road in north Mississippi and the Paducah branch in Tennessee—to place it in connection with other leading thoroughfares both east and west—it will only be necessary to provide for the superstructure of the intermediate link between West Point and the State of Tennessee, of one hundred and one-and-a-half (100½) miles, which at \$10,000 per mile, would amount in round numbers to \$1,000,000.

The resources of the Company for further progress, and the payment of its floating debt, consist of sterling and income bonds on hand unsold, \$4,556,700.

The reaction now going on at all the leading money centres, the rapid decline in interest abroad, with a prospect of still lower rates and great abundance of capital seeking investment, and the tenor of recent foreign correspondence, all indicate that the coming spring will be a more favorable season for placing sound railway securities than has been known for years. The presence of an agent or agents in London, thoroughly conversant with the company's affairs, to represent its interests at the proper time, may accomplish most important and advantageous results, and the next Board of Directors should give the subject their entire consideration.

COMMERCE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

In the last three years the imports into Great Britain are reported to have exceeded the exports £100,000,000 sterling. Lord Stanly thus arrays the figures of the stupendous commerce of the realm:

Annual balance of trade against Great Britain and in favor of the following countries for the average of three years, 1855—1857.

United States.....	\$47,619,500
China.....	37,792,000
East Indies.....	32,676,000
Russia.....	27,736,000
Prussia.....	21,404,000
Egypt.....	13,692,000
Spain.....	11,912,000
British West Indies.....	11,510,000
Peru.....	10,470,000
Sweden.....	8,380,000
Cuba and Porto Rico.....	8,089,000
New Brunswick.....	5,715,000
Denmark.....	5,652,000
France.....	4,493,800
Canada.....	2,347,300
Norway.....	2,811,500

Annual balance of trade in favor of England, for the average of three years.

Hanse Towns.....	\$34,472,000
Australia.....	29,600,000
Brazil.....	11,835,000
Turkey.....	11,578,000
Belgium.....	3,690,000
Holland.....	2,668,000

MISSOURI SAFE FOR THE SOUTH.

WE have had the pleasure of receiving a note from W. A. Seay, Esq., of Missouri, accompanied with some facts upon the slavery question, which will certainly interest our readers very much. Mr. S. repudiates the idea that Missouri can be abolitionized:

"The constitution of Missouri provides that slaves shall not be emancipated without the consent of their owners, or without a fair compensation to them. None of the emancipationists dream of compensative emancipation. They have no idea of loading the State with a debt of eighty millions to pay for negroes, nor of turning loose one hundred thousand free negroes upon the soil of Missouri. This would show too clearly the hypocrisy of their cry about 'free white labor,' for there would be the same competition of black with white labor, besides the burden of a heavy tax upon the white men to pay for the emancipated slaves. Neither will there ever be passed by the Legislature a gradual emancipation act, which the 'South' (as I see by a late number) seems to fear so much. That would require a change of the Constitution, to do which will take two-thirds of two consecutive Legislatures, and you may calculate the chances of their being able ever to get that amount of power, by their strength in the last Legislature, which amounted to just *two* votes outside of St. Louis county. Their only chance, then, is in *immigration*—in overweighing the present conservative power of the State by introducing emigrants from the North. This is, undoubtedly, their plan, for they admitted last winter that they had no plan to offer for emancipation, and Mr. Brown went on to argue in his speech that there was already an emancipation act in force; that the State was becoming gradually free from slavery by the going out of the negroes to other States and the coming in of white men. Hence, the efforts of Beecher and others in publishing the Map of Slavery and directing the attention of Abolitionists to Missouri, which would have the two fold effect of bringing in Free soilers and frightening away Southern men who wished to emigrate here. Now, I do not believe that Missouri will become free by any such means as that. We have already one hundred thousand slaves in this State, and so far from decreasing, slavery is on the increase; slowly, it is true, but still perceptibly. These slaves and their increase will stay here, for their owners will not sell them to be carried to other fields of labor, which is proved by the fact that negroes are higher in Missouri than in Texas or Louisiana; showing the need of them more than a desire to get rid of them. The fact is, hemp cannot well be raised without negro labor, and as long as the making of hemp is more profitable than making sugar or cotton in Mississippi or Louisiana, negroes will not only remain in Missouri, but many more will be introduced. There is scarcely any crop in this State which is not more profitable for negro labor than any of our Southern crops. In the Southeastern counties the farmers all make fortunes raising corn, where a negro can cultivate forty acres, and where every acre will yield seventy-five bushels.

"In that celebrated speech of his, Mr. Brown grouped together a number of counties in which there were but few slaves, and argued

the weak tenure of slavery in them by its absence. Now, it is true that the vast majority of the slaves in this State are confined to a few thickly settled counties, and that the rest contain but few slaves; but any one who would predicate free-soil sentiments and a readiness to favor emancipation, upon the people of any county in this State, because it had but few slaves within its borders, shows a great ignorance of the feelings of the people of this State. With few exceptions, the non-slaveholding counties enumerated by Mr. Brown, are in the Southern part of the State. That section is filled up with emigrants from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and few are from the Northern States. They own few slaves, because they are poor and not able to buy them. They are a hardy and industrious class, and are as true to the institutions of the South as if each owned a hundred negroes. I have been in their houses and talked to them upon the subject, and I have uniformly found that Southern non-slaveholders can be trusted with the institution of slavery as soon as any other class in this country. The section of which I speak will always be the recipient of emigrants from the Southern States, and can never become abolitionized. The northern part of the State is already safe, as slavery there largely predominates, and has put its impress upon the political opinions of all the people. It must also be remembered that Missouri has always been a slave State, that slavery has given color to the feelings of the emigrants from all sections, and that even the Northern emigrants have, in time, become to be in favor of slavery. Because a man hails from the North is no proof that he is in favor of emancipation; on the contrary, some of our most ultra pro-slavery men are from the Northern States. Hence it is, that the whole State may be considered pro-slavery, and no man can be elected Governor, or member of Congress, or to any other responsible post in any part of the State, outside of St. Louis, unless he is a pro-slavery man. Now you can see what a task the Emigrant Aid Society will have to revolutionise a State of more than a million inhabitants, almost unanimously pro-slavery. What an immense Northern emigration it will take to overbalance the present pro-slavery strength in the State, the future Southern emigration, and the thousands of conservative Northern men who will settle among us, become reconciled to slavery and be unwilling to disturb it! Who is so insane as to believe that they will ever accomplish their purpose."

THE COAL FIELDS OF ILLINOIS.

DR. NORWOOD, the State Geologist, has furnished the Governor with an "Abstract of a Report on Illinois Coal." The last Legislature having made no provision for the Geological Report, Governor Bissell has directed the pamphlet to be published, that the information which it contains relative to the coal fields may be furnished to the public generally. In reference to the coal fields of the State Dr. Norwood says:

"Illinois is not one 'great coal mine,' as has been represented in maps and geological reports made previous to the commencement of the State Geological

survey. While it contains within its borders more coal than any other State in the Union, with, perhaps, the exception of Pennsylvania, the coal does not rest in one great basin. So far as the State survey has thrown any light upon the subject, it has been found that the rocks beneath the coal measures, instead of showing nearly a horizontal section from East to West, as was formerly believed by some of our geologists, have in reality been as much disturbed by internal convulsions as those of any volcanic district in the United States. The beds of the former formation, including the mountain limestone and millstone grit, are found at various localities, displaced and tilted up at every angle from a few degrees, to the vertical. These displacements are not confined to any one section. They occur in every district, from the Northern limits of the coal beds, to the Southern borders of the State. In the irregular valleys and basins formed by these disturbances, our lower coal measures were formed. Subsequent to that period, the then existing coal beds were displaced and eroded, forming new basins and valleys, which have been filled with new deposits of coal, and so on up to the termination of the carboniferous epoch. An outline of these basins and valleys, so far as ascertained, will be given in the geological report. It must, however, remain imperfect for years to come, as every re-examination of a coal field develops new facts, which no reasoning from previous data could have brought to light."

TEXAS—RESOURCES AND WEALTH.*

SOIL.—It may be observed in regard to the soil of Texas, that it varies very greatly. The size of the State is so great, as to embrace within itself, all elevations of soil, from the sea line up to 5,000 feet above it, lying over ten degrees of latitude. The temperature also varies considerably. Every species of soil, adapted to nearly every species of production, may be found in the State. The depth of soil over the State may be safely averaged at eighteen inches, and there is this in the soil, that it holds moisture for a long time. Even if Texas be liable to drought, it must be remembered that its soil stands drought better than that of any other State.

FENCING.—The rail fence is in universal use. Where both timber and labor are furnished, rails cost, say one dollar and twenty-five cents per hundred, upon an average. The mere labor alone would be about seventy-five cents to the hundred rails. Vast quantities of cedar, for fencing, are found along the rivers and creeks, and cedar rails once laid, last a life-time. Even the scrubby mountain cedar has been cut up by the saw, furnishing boards for cheap and durable fencing. Wire fencing will not do. Bois d'Arc is good in red sandy soil, such as is found in Northern Texas. Walls of concrete have been proposed, but none put in successful operation.

HEALTH.—Upon the coast good water is rather scarce. Cisterns, however, are being generally introduced. The yellow fever has occasionally appeared in some few places, but in all seasons, save midsummer, and as a general rule even then, health is very good upon the coast. Along the river bottoms, and in low, wet places, chills and fevers prevail occasionally. A little prudence in placing the residence high, dry, and exposed to the wind, as well as care in the use of water, prevents the prevalence of sickness to any great degree. Upon the high prairies to the North, there is a tendency to pneumonia, and will be, until the houses are built more with regard to comfort, than has been the case. Diseases are as mild, and as easily managed, and health is as good, to say the least, as is to be found in any State in the Union.

TRANSPORTATION.—A vast proportion of transportation is done by ox-teams. The price varies according to the season of the year, and the condition of the grass, ranging from one cent to a cent and a quarter per pound per 100 miles.

STOCK.—All the common kinds of stock are found in Texas, and in all parts of the State. Mast is found almost everywhere, and fails only about once in five years, consisting of pecan and oak. The annual increase of hogs and sheep may be set down at from one hundred to one hundred and seventy per cent.; of

* From Richardson's Texas Almanac.

cattle, from thirty to thirty-three per cent. In Connecticut, it costs twenty-five dollars to raise a cow; fifteen dollars in Indiana; twelve dollars and fifty cents in Illinois. In Texas, it costs to raise a cow about what it does to raise a chicken. Murrain is almost the only disease to which stock are liable; the loss from it and all other diseases being only about four per cent. at the utmost. It is rarely necessary even to salt the cattle, as salt licks abound. The laws in regard to cattle stealing are very stringent. Where labor in tending cattle is hired, it costs two dollars a day during actual labor. Sometimes a third, sometimes a fourth of the increase is given for tending. Stock raising is considered fully as profitable as any other business—often very much more so.

WATER.—By digging, water is obtained generally from twenty-five to thirty feet below the surface. Springs are very common, and in Middle and Northern Texas very numerous, and often remarkably copious. The declivity of Texas, from North to South, insures a plentiful water power in the interior, and locations suitable for manufacturing purposes, are without number. For stock purposes, there is generally an abundance of water. Even when many streams cease running in dry seasons, water is found in holes in creek beds, and over the prairies. The rains are most abundant in winter and early spring. In regard to Artesian well there was one bored at Corpus Christi some years ago. The boring was through sand and clay, to the depth of three hundred and eighty feet, when a mineral water was obtained, which rose readily and plentifully to the surface. Sometime ago, a Joint Stock Company was formed, and an Artesian well is now being bored in Austin City by this Company—Mr. Cooper doing the work. The well is upon the eminence on Congress Avenue, near the site of the Old Capitol. Mr. Cooper furnishes the following formations, as having been passed through so far:

Alluvial Soil,.....	1 foot.
Common Limestone,.....	18 feet,
Blue Limestone,.....	58 "
Bituminous bed, saturated with Petroleum oil,.....	24 "
Carboniferous Slate,.....	9 "
Marble,.....	35 "
Blue clay, with shells and pyrites,.....	62 "
Conglomerate with flint and shells,.....	61 "
Siliceous Slate with pyrites, lime, and shells,.....	1 foot.
Total,.....	289 feet.

MEMOIR—COL. M. C. HAMMOND, OF S. C.

WE are favored by one of the most gifted and distinguished of the literary men of the South, with the manuscripts of the following memoir. Its subject acquired so large a reputation by his military criticisms on the conduct of the war with Mexico, which were published in the Southern Quarterly Review, that we are inclined to think our readers will be pleased to learn something of his personal character and history, more especially when it is presented in a style both chaste and captivating. It will be a relief from the rigid and monotonous array of "material facts and figures" which necessarily make up, somewhat to our regret, so large a portion of the Review.

Biography has its high and useful purposes, and even its minutest details, when properly viewed, are not without their significance and public importance.—EDITOR.

In a republican country like ours, where the safety of the country and the prosperity of its institutions seem absolutely to require a full popular knowledge of its ablest men, and of the most promising among its younger ones, we make no apology for dedicating a few of our pages to the career of the highly honorable and distinguished gentleman whose name is at the head of this article.

Marcus Claudius Marcellus Hammond was born in Newberry district, South Carolina, on the 12th day of December, 1814. He was the second of several sons, all highly distinguished for worth and intelligence in their pursuits, and the society in which they live. His eldest brother, indeed, General James H. Hammond, as a thoughtful, sagacious politician, an able, elegant writer, takes rank as one of the first men in South Carolina. He has filled, among other stations, that of Governor of the State, and served as one of its Representatives in Congress. He has recently succeeded to Butler as U. S. Senator. Our subject shares the talent of his brother. His father, Colonel E. Hammond, was a graduate of Dartmouth College, N. H., was also distinguished in his class, and delivered a poem on fulfilling his appointment. He was a college mate, an intimate associate and friend of Daniel Webster. Chosen to the office of principal of an academy at Mount Bethel, a few miles from Newberry Court House, he soon secured for this institution a high reputation. A number of the most distinguished men of the State were there prepared for college; and after two or three years he was elected Professor of Mathematics in the State College at Columbia. There he married Miss Catherine F. Spann, of the large family of that name spread over the two States of North and South Carolina. He did not long continue to hold the professorship. Resigning this, he again retired to Newberry, some years before the birth of the son of whom we write.

Our subject is descended, on both sides, from revolutionary ancestors. He was born at a peculiar juncture in public affairs, to which, indeed, he is indebted for his peculiarly Roman and military cognomen. It was, during the last war with Great Britain, (shall it be the last?) sometime in the summer of 1814, that his parents visited the North. They were naturally greatly excited by the military passion prevailing in the country, by the military displays which they witnessed, and by the patriotic ardor which everywhere sprang into existence under the pressure of foreign aggression. Returning home just before the birth of their second son, he was destined to become a living witness of the feelings which these scenes had inspired. When but two hours old he received the name of an admired Roman consul and general, and was dedicated by his father, from that moment, to the military profession. At seven years his name was registered in the War Department for entry at the West Point Academy, whenever he should be old enough for admission. In those days priority of claim was the result of priority of application. In many respects the choice of a profession, thus arbitrarily made for the boy, was destined to be fully justified by the subsequent developments of the man; and but for events, utterly beyond all human control, our subject would, no doubt, at this period, have become one of the burning and shining lights in the armies of the country.

Marcellus (as our subject is familiarly called among his friends at home) betrayed, at an early period, a certain portion of that strong will, which is perhaps necessary to all military virtues. He was not a bookish boy; he loved better the exercises of the field than the quiet attractions of the desk; for sedentary study he had no premature relish, and a harsh and crabbed master in Columbia contributed to confirm his distaste to books and studies, which, in every case, perhaps, require to be made, more or less, palatable to the mind, by the exercise of the most affectionate and judicious authority. His distaste became disgust, and he fled from the authority which neglected to excite his sympathies. His father had a process of his own for bringing the boy back to a love of books, rather a circuitous one, it is true, and this was to revolt him by other and less congenial occupations. Marcellus was despatched to the plantation, on a branch of the Edisto, in Lexington district, where he was promoted to the management of a horse and plough. The remedy failed utterly of cure. The young outlaw took pleasure in his plough. The boy, who would not himself be driven, was pleased with the new power which he possessed, of driving his horse! He enjoyed the change with a relish. The labor, which was meant to revolt, became his pleasure; and when, after a three months' exercise in the fields, the choice of school was offered him, he peremptorily declined it, and stuck to the plough for a year and a half, his mind somewhat in abeyance, but his body acquiring hardihood and vigor by the daily employment of the fields,

not that he did not read the while, and pursue such studies as were self-suggested—with some natures, indeed, the most profitable sort of studies. But he really acquired a passion for this kind of life, and his preference then, for agricultural pursuits, was, perhaps, only indicative of native tastes, which his subsequent military career has by no means served to obliterate. The life he then led was, in fact, one of many attractions to a young and ardent temperament. In the delightful climate of the middle country of South Carolina, life in the open air, and in active exercises, is, itself, a luxury. Marcellus varied his toils with books (sparingly, perhaps, but still he read,) and with the sports of the neighborhood. He loved society, was hearty and frank in his fellowship, eager in amusement, and, what with the church-goings, the singing-school, the dancings, the varied scenes of hunting and fishing, he contrived to satisfy his conscience, without thinking a moment of his usher.

But the fates proved stronger than his moods. After a pleasant season of grateful exercise and dream, the boy's destiny underwent a change. The plantation in Lexington was sold, and Marcellus was once more brought down from his highest dream of liberty and flight, to the drudgery of desk and lesson. He was probably not so much troubled by the novelty of his task as at the former period. When, indeed, is youth unwilling to grasp at change? We do not say that he was grateful for the one proposed, but he certainly addressed himself to his boyish tasks with less reluctance than before. His teachers were indulgent. Books were soon to become his life. His studies were pursued closely at several schools—at Poplar Springs, near Orangeburg, S. C., at Augusta, Ga., and subsequently at Macon, in the latter State. At fourteen, well versed in Latin, and somewhat advancing in Greek, the design was entertained of sending him to college, rather than to West Point. His father, however, died in 1829, and this event, and the new direction of Marcellus' mind, prompted the adherence to his original destination. His desire was to become a soldier. In all probability there was something of the old passion for active life, moving this determination. The temperament of our subject is ardent and impulsive. His blood mingles with and impels the action of his brain. West Point was a remote prospect of enfranchisement. He beheld it through the medium of distance, and longed for it. In spite of all opposition at home, he persuaded his brother to urge the application, and, through the kindness of the Hon. Senator R. T. Hayne, and by Hon. John M. Felder, then M. C. from South Carolina, the warrant of admission was procured in February, 1832.

In June of this year he entered the Military Academy. In passing through Washington he was honored with friendly and encouraging letters from Mr. Calhoun, General Hayne, and General McDuffie, addressed to Colonel Thayer, the very able and accomplished Superintendent. From the first moment of his entrance into the institution, Marcellus devoted himself with ardor to his studies; ardor, indeed, was a large element in his mental constitution, and his mind, once addressed to a task or duty, his blood instantly rushed in the prescribed direction, and stimulated his performances. In his new relations he soon won the affections of those around. His disposition was highly amiable; his social qualities and tendencies very decided. He made his progresses without an effort, and his associations prompted his performances. He soon acquired a high local reputation as a speaker and a writer. The standards of excellence at such a period of life, were of course of juvenile sort; but their requisitions, when met, argued powers and resources, which needed nothing but judicious training and constant devotion to ripen into superiority. The appreciation of his comrades was not of a kind to suffer him to doubt, himself, of this. Beaten quite unexpectedly, by some two or three votes, as a candidate for Fourth of July Orator, his associates unanimously elected him as their orator for a subsequent occasion. His popularity, however, had its drawbacks. An indignity cast upon the corps of cadets by an *employee*, (provider of the mess-hall,) aroused their passions, and Marcellus was employed to draw up resolutions of protest for their adoption. With his usual ardor, sympathizing fully with his comrades, he prepared the paper, which met their fullest approbation. But with his usual frankness of character, unwilling to do any thing that was not open and manly, he addressed a copy of the protest to the Superintendent, De Russey. We are

not told in what consisted the objectionable features of the protest, whether in the mere act itself, the tone of the protest, or the character of the resolutions. Enough, that the paper gave offence, and the popularity of Marcellus with his comrades, pointed him out as the proper object for punishment. For reply, he was put under arrest, and charged with insubordination. A court-martial sentenced him to be dismissed, and, within six months of the time for his graduating—as the prominent leader and the scape-goat of *two hundred and fifty* equal offenders—he departed from the Academy. This was paying very dearly for the favor of his fellows. But Marcellus was not of a desponding temperament. He felt himself the victim of an injustice, and was not in the mood to resign himself without an effort to its evils. He repaired immediately to Washington. Interviews with Secretary Cass and Senator King, of Georgia, encouraged him to hope for his reinstatement. When he saw the President, (Jackson,) and the case was explained to him, the prospect brightened. Old Hickory loved boldness of character, even though it might be a little tinctured with audacity; that is to say, where the offence was only the fruit of warm blood and an impetuous manhood. "Stand up, sir," said the Old Hero. Marcellus was of tall stature, fine figure, free, manly character, and handsome, frank, intellectual countenance. The President looked him through, and was satisfied with the examination. His decision was immediate. "Well, sir," said he, slapping him upon the shoulder, "I like spirit in a soldier. You shall go back. Tell Governor Cass to give you an order to resume your studies."

This was done. The tacit rebuke thus given to the severity of the Superintendent, did not propitiate his favor. He gave the youth no countenance, and perhaps would have been pleased to find him deficient, both in his conduct and his studies. But it was honorable to young Hammond that he resolved not to discredit the indulgence of the President. He behaved with propriety, and worked late and hard at his studies. He graduated in June, 1836. A good soldier, whatever tale his demerit marks may have told, the Superintendent was finally reconciled to the offender, and he was retained during the succeeding encampment as assistant instructor of artillery. He was appointed to the 4th regiment of infantry, and joined his company in Florida. He served through the sickly campaign of 1837, and shared the sufferings and fate of many others, on an arduous march of 200 miles in the month of July. He was struck down with the fever, from which he continued to suffer, incapable of effort. In September, with numerous invalids, he was ordered, by sea, from Tampa Bay to Fortress Monroe, in Virginia; but the vessel touching at Charleston for supplies, he landed with a surgeon's certificate, and went home, the better to recruit his health. Sufficiently recovered by December, he proceeded to join the army, and, but for three weeks' detention in Savannah, waiting for a steamer, would have shared, with his regiment, in the battle of Okechobee.

In the summer of 1838 his regiment was ordered to the Cherokee country, in Georgia and Tennessee, to aid in collecting and removing the Indians to the West. It was also selected to garrison Fort Gibson, Arkansas, in the heart of the Indian territory. Early in 1839 it reached its destination. For nearly three years Hammond remained with his regiment among the Cherokees. In this time he had served as an officer in almost every possible capacity. He had been, in turn, the quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance officer, and was finally persuaded by his colonel (Cummings) to take the appointment of adjutant. There could have been no better choice. For the duties of this office, Hammond was particularly well calculated. He was quick, active, eager, observant, and intelligent, and executed his trusts with equal ability and cheerfulness. His leisure hours were not employed unprofitably; nay, worse than unprofitably, viciously, as is but too frequently the case in army life, when there are no active necessities stimulating enterprise, and no threatening enemy compelling vigilance and discipline. If he found pleasure in the chase, (and this was one of his passions,) he was no less happy and at home in the regimental library, where, with a few officers of kindred spirit and associations, he acquired a large fund of useful and grateful knowledge. Books relieved the fatigues of the chase, and the chase gratefully spelled the ardency of study. But the agree-

ables of either were finally terminated, for a painful period, in the case of our young soldier. He was again prostrated by a severe attack of sickness, which following so soon after his sufferings from the same cause in Florida, served seriously to impair his constitution. Both regions proved equally unwholesome, and no prudence could enable the soldier to escape the treacherous assaults of that malaria which carried off many valuable lives. Enfeebled thus, he yet accompanied his regiment to Florida, whither it was ordered in 1841; a portion of it participated in the terrible expedition into the Everglades. The war ceased somewhere about the spring of 1842, and Hammond was permitted once more to procure leave of absence to visit his family, and recruit. He suffered at this period from an acute and dangerous attack. A sudden vertigo was construed by the surgeon into apoplexy, and he was so properly bled, and suffered so much from the loss of blood, owing to relaxed bandages, that he reached home a complete invalid. In consideration of his slow progress to recovery, his leave of absence was extended. He gradually improved, and with increase of health, found new means to increase the ties which bound him to life and society, if not to the army. He married Miss H. P. Davies, a lady of Augusta, Georgia. The soldier who is well enough to think of marriage, may be assumed to be quite equal to his duties in the army. But General Scott, who is a gallant man in both senses of the word, sympathized with the young bridegroom, and generously lengthened his leave of absence. He did more. He recommended him, subsequently, to the Secretary of War for the appointment of Assistant Adjutant General, describing him as one of the "five most accomplished young officers in the army." He adds in this letter, which is dated "Washington, 26th October, 1842, the selection of either would hold out a strong incentive to the young officers to cultivate the virtues and accomplishments of the military profession."

But the anticipated vacancy did not occur, and a relapse of illness, indicating the inroads which frequent and severe attacks had already made on his constitution, compelled Mr. Hammond, however reluctantly, to meditate the necessity of quitting the service altogether. He resigned on the 31st December, 1842. The regrets which he himself felt at this necessity, were fully shared by his comrades in arms. Shortly after his intention was declared, they sent him the following affectionate letter, signed by the regiment, which we publish, in proof of more active sympathies among soldiers than are usually supposed to distinguish their character:

"JEFFERSON BARRACKS, December 25, 1842.

"FRIEND HAMMOND: Your letter to the (acting) Adjutant shows us that you have concluded not to rejoin the regiment. We are too well acquainted with your generous and soldier-like qualities which attach you to military society and military duties, not to be aware of the reluctance with which you surrender your connection with them. You are one of those who can appreciate highly, for themselves alone, disinterested and engrossing avocations, and therefore feel the privations of a life where every thing is risked for nothing.

"Accustomed to form acquaintances and leave them forever—to make friends and change them for others—we cannot profess to feel much on all these occasions. But when one, like yourself, possessing all the pleasing and useful qualities for public and private life, has been long with us, amidst constantly varying scenes and adventures, we have seen him under so many different circumstances, and discovered so many reasons to be proud of him, that a domestic tie seems to bind us together. As the separation must take place between us, we unite our hands here, to give you this family benediction; and with the sincerest regret at the divergence of your road from ours, we hope that yours may lead you through a pleasant country, and terminate in the goal which you desire. With affectionate regard, &c."

This frank, good-natured tribute and sympathy might well prompt regret and reluctance at the sacrifice which he felt himself bound to make. But the duty to himself was paramount. His health at this period appeared to be completely broken down. Few persons, indeed, who saw him then, ever supposed he could recover. But he did so. He improved rather gradually; his strength and spirit came back, slowly but certainly, and he was at length sufficiently

recruited to rise and address himself to new toils and occupations, and those occupations of the field, especially, which had always been with him a delight and a desire. Being a landholder, a planter of the South, he delivered himself up, almost wholly, to the pursuit of agriculture. He approached this new labor with his usual enthusiasm. His early predilections for it were strengthened, and he now studied it as a science, while enjoying its exercises as a recreation. He became as successful as he was earnest. He made good crops, each year being an improvement upon the preceding. His social tendencies did not suffer him, however, to confine his improvements and tastes wholly to himself. He sought to diffuse his ideas and objects among his neighbors. He was instrumental in establishing an agricultural society in his precincts, drafted the constitution, and, upon election, delivered the first anniversary oration, a performance marked by boldness, thought, research, good taste, and general good sense. He wrote for the agricultural journals besides, essays on the several departments of the art, all of which were suggestive, instructive, and showing a mind quite as practical as enthusiastic. Himself thus fully imbued with a spirit of progress and improvement, his ideas and objects naturally made their way among his neighbors. Thus working successfully as honorably, growing in health, fortune, and the regards of the society in which he lived, one would suppose him perfectly satisfied with himself and his situation. But with the return of health and strength, the old leaven began to ferment within him. The soldier rarely rids himself of that restless impatience of the staid and domestic which he acquires on the frontier, and in the perpetual alterations of military life, and Hammond was no exception to the rule. He began somewhat to yearn for the old fields of exercise. We have seen the affectionate farewell of the officers of his regiment. They did not stop at this. Apprised of his reviving desire to take the field, the greater number of them signed a memorial to the Secretary of War to restore him to his old place, the juniors offering cheerfully to give way in their own promotion. This was a grateful compliment. It spoke volumes for his head, his heart, his manners, as it declared in behalf of the justice, the good temper, and general amenity which he had maintained during his long association with them. But the time had not yet come. He still needed respite for recovery. But with the threatened difficulties with Great Britain, on the subject of Oregon, and with Mexico, on a score of subjects, he prepared to buckle on his armor. Feeling at length that his strength was tolerably sure, he proceeded to Washington in February, 1846, and applied to President Polk for the majority in the rifles, then about to be raised by Congress. In aiming at this commission he was assisted by several gentlemen of political influence and distinction. In a letter to the President, the Hon. Baillie Peyton uses the following words: "He (Hammond) would, in my judgment, adorn any circle in society, and do honor to any station in the army to which he might aspire. He possesses fine native abilities, united with a high degree of cultivation, and an ardent attachment to the profession of arms, which eminently qualify him for usefulness in peace, and distinction in war." This is high praise, and no doubt as sincerely felt as gracefully expressed. General Worth wrote him from Corpus Christi, saying: "I hear with much pleasure of your disposition to return to the army, and beg you to believe that none of your old companions will welcome you back to the ranks which you graced, more sincerely or more cordially than myself." To the Secretary of War the same gallant captain wrote: "Mr. H., who served in the army from the period of his leaving the military school to the close of the Florida difficulties, with great credit in all the subaltern grades, including the duties of adjutant of his regiment, desires, I learn with pleasure, to return to a profession for which he is peculiarly fitted by inclination, habit, acquirement, &c." From General Scott we have a like statement, designed for the President and Secretary of War, (Marcy,) dated 16th February, 1846, while Mr. H. was at Washington, seeking the majority in the rifles: "I have made no recommendation and design to make none, with a view to a commission in the regiment or regiments of riflemen, for which there are now bills before Congress, but Mr. Hammond demands of me to say what were his standing and services whilst he was a commissioned officer in the

army. Compliance with such demand is the duty of every senior or commanding officer, and accordingly, it gives me sincere pleasure to say that among our very fine young officers, Mr. Hammond was among the best in all the characteristics of a good soldier, in morality, honor, spirit, zeal, and intelligence. He served several campaigns in Florida against the Seminole Indians, and was distinguished for efficiency as well as gallantry. It is now evident that he retains all his high capacities for future usefulness and distinction." Similar wishes and sentiments were expressed by many others of high authority, including the Hon. Mr. Elmore, of S. C., Hon. Mr. Burt, of the same State, Hon. J. P. King, of Georgia, &c. A recommendation of his claims to the Secretary of War, drawn up by Mr. Burt, was signed generally by the several delegations in Congress, of Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. Mr. Calhoun added to it a separate commendatory endorsement; and in a note to the President, (Polk,) General McDuffie writes, 12th June, 1846: "He (Mr. H.) has every qualification for military service—courage, honor, education, talents, and experience. I am sure he will do honor to the post assigned him."

Such was the honorable character of the testimonials freely given, when Hammond sought for the majority in the rifles. But they were given in vain. He was too late. His application had been anticipated. The post had been already promised to another. He was offered the senior captaincy but declined it. He had served too long and suffered too much, to resume his place in the army, in a rank scarcely superior to that which he had enjoyed when he left it. But through the influence of General McDuffie and the Hon. Mr. Burt, the President, in June, conferred on him the office of paymaster. The appointment was accepted with the view, rather of testing his strength for the service, than of retaining the post, whenever he should find himself in a condition to a change into the line. Early in July he repaired to New Orleans, and, as having some experience, was ordered to San Antonio, Texas, to pay off the wild men of that region. He joined Wool's staff at Lavaca, reached San Antonio, paid out his money, fulfilled his mission, and again succumbed—this time from *coup de soleil*—to the prostrating effects of disease. From this he slowly recovered. But his objects accomplished at San Antonio, he was ordered back to New Orleans and assigned to duty. Towards Christmas he was permitted to return home in order to arrange his affairs preparatory to a long campaign. But his return brought no immediate improvement to his health. He was at this time so reduced that he found it impossible to walk two hundred yards without exhaustion. By March, 1847, he had got no better, and hopeless and desponding, he was at length compelled to renounce finally the hope of enjoying health while undergoing the fatigues and exposure of active military life. Unwilling to retain a position, the duties of which he found himself no longer able to fulfill, he at length reluctantly sent in his resignation, and left the army forever.

But he did not lapse into idleness. His employment was gone, not his spirit, his zeal, his intelligence. So far as health would allow, he kept himself *au courant* in army affairs, in agriculture, and in general politics. His mind was constantly busy. His temperament kept him eager, and made him a seeker after mental excitements. He read voraciously, but understandingly, and with good digestion. He had accumulated a valuable library, and made the best use of it. He wrote as well as read, and supplied to the military, political, and agricultural journals within his reach, the frequent results of his meditations in all these departments. He was a clear, close thinker, and always expressed himself with directness and energy. His style was rough at times, and careless, but strong, and only needed that he should practice in periodicals, the standards of which were more exacting, to become excellent, manly without affectation, and polished without the loss of vigor and directness. While thus exercising himself at home, and relieving the hours of study with the sports of the field and the pleasures of an agreeable society, he naturally became an object of much consideration among his neighbors. It was thought that a political life would suit his powers, and his friends urged upon him to seek a seat in the legislature of his native State, but he declined. Others again were for nominating him for a seat in Congress, but even this more promising bait failed to tempt his appetite. He discouraged all the persuasions to political life. Not

that he was over ambitious, but that he had been too frequently counselled by experience that his constitution was not such as could endure a continuous burden, great excitements of any kind, and exposure to a capricious climate, such as Washington. He was content to be modestly useful at home, in a circle where his abilities and good qualities were highly esteemed, and in a devoted application to the science of that profession, for the active toils of which he felt himself no longer competent. He prepared, among other labors, to translate the Art of War by Jomini, coupling the text of the author with a running critical commentary of his own. While thus engaged, he was approached by the Editor of the Southern Quarterly Review, (Mr. Simms,) who suggested to him a series of papers on the recent events in Mexico, for the pages of that periodical. Mr. S. remarked his peculiar energy of expression, the ardeny and readiness of his mind, his singular nicety in details, the care and pains-taking with which he pursued his researches, in all possible directions, when he had a subject for investigation; and augured favorably of his powers, in a field, where, hitherto, he had never exercised them. It was with some natural doubts, that Mr. H. was persuaded to attempt the indicated labors. He naturally distrusted himself in the more exacting arena to which he was invited. But, encouraged to the effort, he fully justified the expectations of the Editor. and in the preparation of a series of twelve papers, upon California, its acquisition, and the invasion of Mexico, under Taylor and Scott, the last of which appears in the January number of the Southern Quarterly Review, for the year 1853, and closes the series, he has acquired for himself the reputation of one of the very best military critics of the country. These papers do not give a mere chronicle of campaigns and conquests. They discuss severely the *rationale* of the event in all cases. They absorb an immense deal of material, cover an enormous tract of survey, and exhibit the singular keenness and closeness, as well as variety of research of the author, who has probably passed under review, every volume of any merit, which we owe to this war, so prolific in popular literature. In most of the substantial qualities of good criticism, these papers are excellent. The writer is singularly impartial. His mind, though impulsive, is highly judicial. He rejects wholly the temper as the tone of the advocate, and reviews his case with the equal vigilance, care, honesty, and frank freedom from prejudice, which characterises the equal judge and gentleman. It is, perhaps, only in the one matter of style, that the critic leaves himself open. A good style can result only from long practice, and the recognition of severe models. Letter-writing among friends and intimates, and newspaper writing, are apt to render one careless of his mode of utterance; and it takes some time to reform the loosenesses occasioned by this sort of composition. But the manner of our critic is good, and it is even now in his power to revise these papers, so as to make them as agreeable to the ear, as they are of sterling value to the mind. We understand that is the intention of our author to undertake this labor, and to embody these papers in one collection. This done, we are not sure that we have in the whole country, any volume, in the same department, of equal excellence and authority. In the army, especially, we are told that they take rank, because of their thoroughness and impartiality, before all other works devoted to the subject.

In February, 1849, Mr. Hammond was persuaded to accept the appointment of Division Inspector General in the militia of South Carolina. In September, 1851, he was promoted to Division Adjutant General, with the rank of Colonel. This appointment he held until recently, when he withdrew, the better to devote himself wholly to study—the pursuit of letters and domestic life. His health was another reason, this being liable to frequent derangement with the caprices of the seasons. Care, too, was in his household, in the prolonged sufferings, sickness, and death, of a favorite child. A gentleman of easy fortune, Col. Hammond, felt no proper necessity for undertaking toils, which yielded little profit or distinction, and were rather tedious and harrassing, than stimulating or productive. He separated himself accordingly from even the shows of military life.

But his sympathies lay with the army, and with the science of the profession; nor was he forgotten in his retirement. His contributions to the Southern

Quarterly, contributed to increase his reputation among the military men, who had known him on service, and brought him to the knowledge of many others, to whom he had been hitherto unknown. They gained for him, in fact, a new and perhaps better reputation. In them he appears in the aspect of one who grasps successfully at the substance of his profession. He is the thinker, no less than the actor—the philosopher, as well as the performer; the man capable of analysing the principles of successful war, according to the best lights of science, no less than the bold and dashing cavalier, who exerts in the *certaminis gundia* of the Hun—the rapture of the strife.

It was probably because of this conviction on the part of those who knew him, that he was appointed in 1852, as the visitor of inspection at West Point, representing the State of South Carolina. To persons, who, though sound Democrats, and keeping pace with all the progresses of the party, are yet not known in the ranks as active politicians, such appointments are rarely given. He did not disappoint the anticipations of his friends, nor discredit the choice of Government. He was unanimously chosen the President of the Board—the youngest man who ever filled the seat. The Report of the Board, is proof of his industry, intelligence and sagacity. His time at West Point was fully occupied. In addition to the duties of the examination, and the elevation of the Report, with all the additional requisitions upon a presiding officer, he was called upon by the Dialectic Society of the Corps, to deliver an address, during the examination of the Cadets. The application of the Society had reached him before leaving home, but allowed him brief time for preparation; but he cheerfully accepted the appointment, and on the 5th of June, gave to the Corps, and public generally, a graceful, thoughtful, and well written discourse, on “the duties and requirements of the American officer;” a subject highly appropriate to the occasion, and worthy of it. The standards of the American officers, as indicated by Col. Hammond, though very high and exacting, were yet, as had been shown by his own career, not beyond the attainment of any noble minded and justly principled young man.

Since this period, Col. Hammond has held himself in retirement, contributing periodically to the Southern Quarterly, accumulating books, and storing his mind from their treasures, with the material for future performances. His mind is now in the season of its greatest vigor, and approaching maturity. Its resources are various and increasing. His judgment is gradually ripening to that condition of equable and just poise which Milton describes as the highest moral prudence. That he has powers yet unexercised, if not undeveloped, is well known to most of his intimates. That his country may yet require his services, in some suitable capacity, and that he will honor, and serve her ably, in any post to which she may assign him, is the conviction of all his friends. Already has he been named, in some of the more influential public journals, North and South, as a person well fitted for the duties of a Secretary of War. In such a place, we have no doubt, that, with his military passion, his studies and experience, he is eminently calculated to shine, to maintain the reputation he has already acquired, and win new plaudits with every fresh performance. He does not, however, seek these distinctions; lives retired, and though a keen observer of affairs, mingles but little in the operations of mere party. He is a thorough going States-rights Democrat, however, and, in the late canvass in which Whiggism, dead before, underwent formal burial, was a warm supporter of Pierce and King. In his own precincts, he is regarded as one of those persons to whom the present generation will do well to look, when seeking for the ready mind, the honest judgment, the fearless citizen, the graceful and honorable gentleman.

NOTE.—Since the preceding was written, Col. Hammond has been elected to the Legislature as one of the Representatives, from the venerable Edgefield district—a district to which we owe the noble Brooks, and the able and amiable Senator Butler, both of whom have been so suddenly taken from us. It will not lessen the reader's interest to know, that the successor of Judge Butler, in the United States Senate, from South Carolina, is the Hon. James H. Hammond, Ex-Governor of South Carolina, and elder brother of our subject, of whom mention has been already made, passing, in these pages. S.